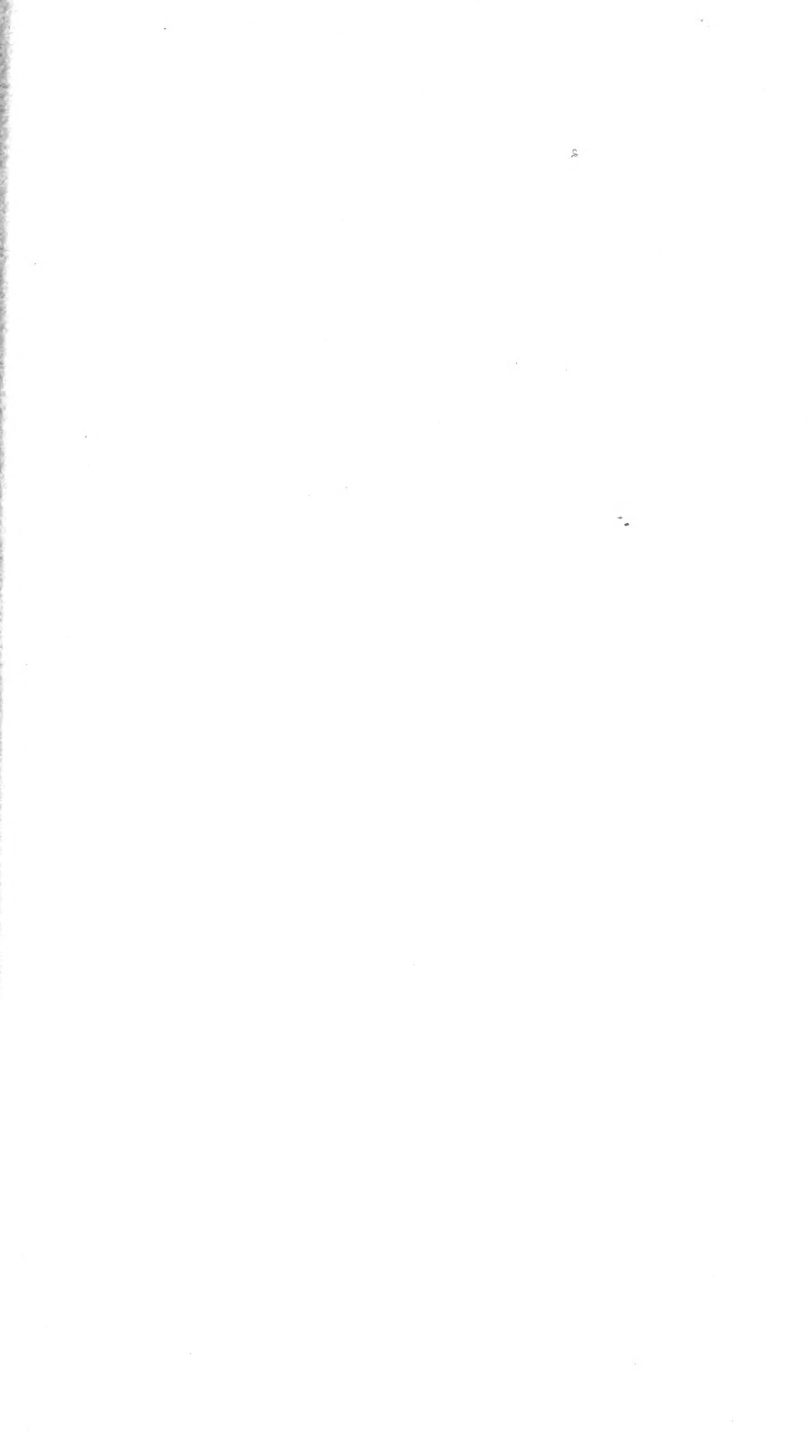




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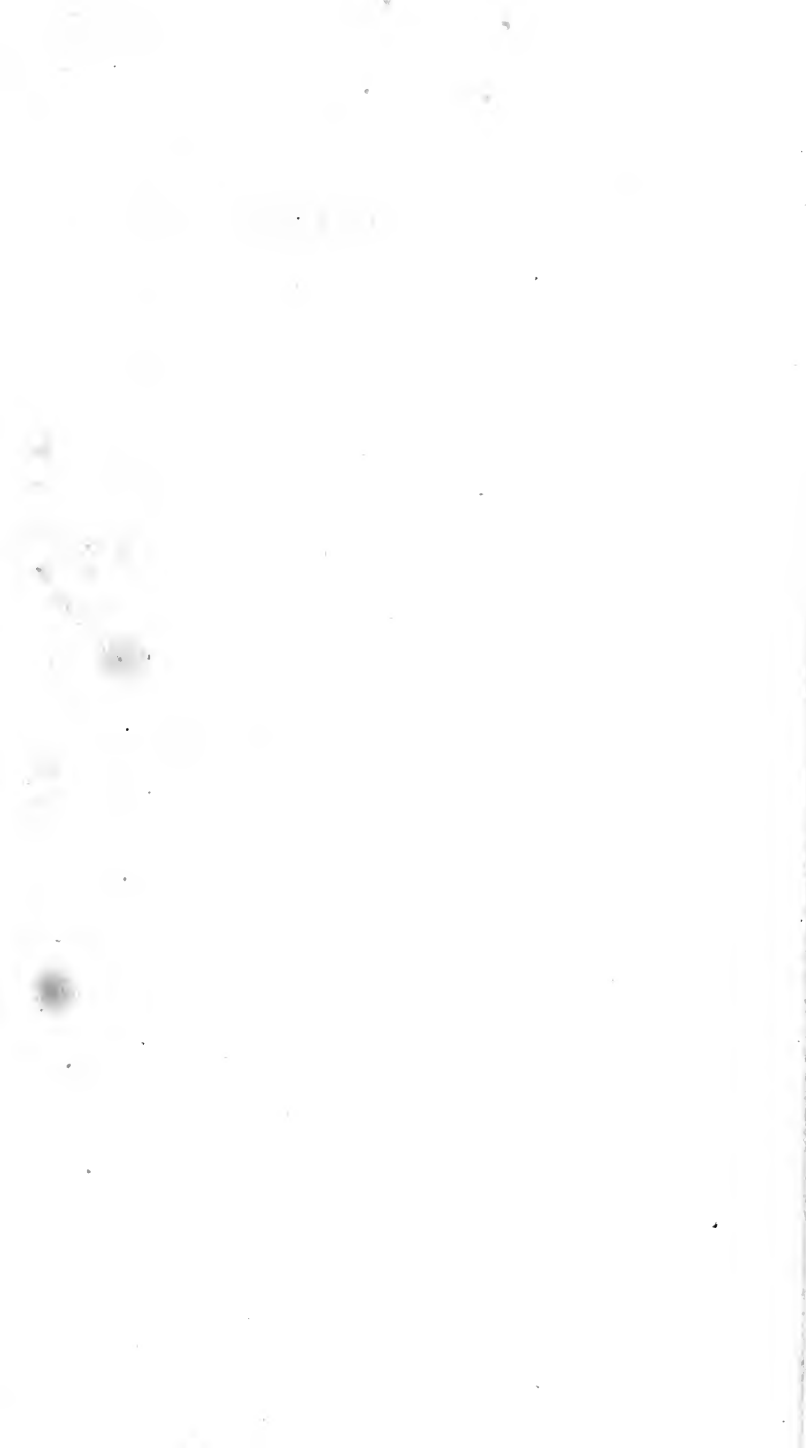
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF THE GREAT CONDÉ.

WRITTEN BY HIS SERENE HIGHNESS

LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON,

PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

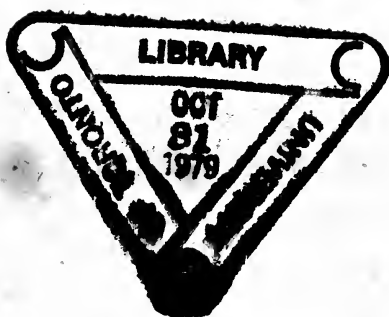
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1807.



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PREFACE

OF

THE LONDON EDITORS.

THE name of the Great Condé, no doubt, will always recal to memory the rare qualities and heroic acts by which it has been immortalized. The remotest posterity will recognize in him the greatest man of his age, the hero whose virtues at once “ honored the august family of France, the French name, and as we may say, all mankind.”* Hitherto, however, a Historian was wanting truly competent to appreciate his glory, and judge his actions with impartiality. The difficulty of uniting all the qualities which such a task required had not suffered it to be fully completed, till MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF THE GREAT CONDÉ, compiled from Notes and Original Papers, preserved in the

* See the Funeral Oration of Bossuet.

archives of his family, recently appeared in France. These Memoirs, in which we imagine we see the Great Condé judged by himself, are written in a tone of dignity, justice, and truth, that entitle them to be ranked among the most important historical records. But how much is the interest which they excite, increased by the certainty that one of the worthiest descendants of the Great Condé, he who has closely followed his track in the same career, and reaped laurels in the same plains, is their Author.”*

This Work, written by his Highness the Prince de Condé in his youth, but frequently since revised and corrected by his own hand, was only known to a very few persons,† in whose possession they had never been, and, perhaps, would never have seen the light, had not the revolu-

* The Great Condé is the great great-grandfather of his Highness, the present Prince de Condé, Author of these Memoirs.

† The Parisian Editor, in his Preface, p. 9, informs us, that he has reason to suspect that these Memoirs are the same that Desormeaux has frequently cited, without naming the Author, in his Life of the Great Condé. We are authorized to declare that M. Desormeaux had published his history of the Great Condé long before these Memoirs had been written, and that he had never any knowledge of their existence.

tionary depredators taken the manuscript from the Château of Chantilly, where it had been concealed by the modesty of the Author. His Highness had intended it only for the instruction of his family, and he was no less surprised than displeased at finding it was published. The first copy which we received was shown to this Prince, who perfectly recognized his Work, saving the changes and additions which the Parisian Editor thought proper to make, and which his Serene Highness has no motive to disavow, because they are sufficiently denoted by the difference of the style.

We have likewise remarked several faults of printing, pointing, &c. &c. which ought not to have been suffered to escape in so excellent a Work. This consideration, added to the impossibility of quickly procuring another copy from France, determined us to solicit permission of the Prince de Condé to print an edition here, and his Serene Highness was graciously pleased not to blame our zeal to satisfy the eager curiosity of the Public. We have, consequently, employed every possible means to make this Edition as cor-

rect as it ought to be, and we have suppressed the Preface, annexed to the Parisian Edition, and a part of the Notes of the Editor, as being useless and inaccurate; but we have preserved those which appeared necessary to elucidate facts.

Having taken considerable pains to reduce the Work to its original purity, we presume to hope it will not be disavowed by its August Author.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

THE Life of the Great Condé, whose genius and virtues were so resplendent, must in all times excite strong interest, but in none more than the present. In consequence of that tremendous revolution, which has overthrown a monarchy as ancient as it was powerful, whatever relates to the illustrious House of Bourbon, so distinguished by the great men it has produced, becomes doubly interesting. In addition to this, these Memoirs are written by a descendant of the Great Condé: and the information, liberality, and elevated sentiments which they contain, are truly worthy of the scholar, and the gentleman.

Some errors have crept into the original, owing to the difficulties, as it is said, which attended the publishing an edition here. In page 49, *Gassion* is twice written instead of *Gaston*.

Page 111. *Augerville* is written for *Angerville*: in both these instances the Translator has followed the the authority of the ABBÉ MILLOT.

Page 115. There is no such place as *Stafford* on the Continent: it may, perhaps, be *Stafarda*, a small town in the States of Savoy, which is meant.

Page 142. *Lenet* is most probably a misspelling of *Lainé*. In page 90, *Lainé*, a Counsellor of State, is mentioned as being a zealous partisan of the Great Condé, and assisting the Princess his consort to escape, while that hero was in prison.

Page 261. *Clarans* and *Belfort* are certainly errors: Clarence and Bedford, two names well-known to English history, are meant, and so written in the Translation.

INTRODUCTION.

CHARLES DE BOURBON, duke de Vendôme ^{1515.} and prince of the blood, was married to Françoise D'Alençon, who, at Vendôme, on the 7th of May, 1530, gave birth to Louis de Bourbon, first prince ^{1530.} of Condé and younger brother to Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre; a prince less worthy of having been the father of Henry IV. than Louis de Bourbon would have been, whom the order of nature robbed of precedence, but who, in the order of events rose far above his elder brother. In 1551, ^{1551.} Louis espoused Eléonore de Roye, by whom, December 29th, 1552, he had Henry I. prince of ^{1552.} Condé.

On the accession of Francis II. to the throne, ^{1559.} the court was divided into three factions; that of Antoine and Louis de Bourbon, princes of the blood; that of the house of Guise; and that of Montmorency. Queen Catherine de Medicis supported the faction of the house of Guise. The prince of Condé, who had long been dissatisfied at seeing himself excluded from that share in administration to which he thought his birth entitled him, and indignant at the preference which the

queen showed to aliens, followed the impulse of his active and enterprising genius, and connected himself with Coligny and Andelot, the declared partisans of Calvinism, which the prince likewise professed. This step was the origin of the troubles that convulsed France in the succeeding reigns, and of the errors of the princes of the house of Condé, who, perhaps, had they possessed qualities less shining, would have conducted themselves with greater moderation.

1560.

This junction gave birth to the conspiracy of Amboise, which was to seize on the person of the king; to deliver him from the yoke of the house of Guise; to force an edict in favor of liberty of conscience; and to vest all authority in the hands of the prince of Condé. The plot was discovered, and the prince, who had been the soul of the conspiracy, awaited the result at court: he was arrested on suspicion, but no proofs could be brought against him; he justified himself in full council, with the most persuasive eloquence, and he was released. His ardent and ambitious genius soon led him to form a new conspiracy, less celebrated than the first, and equally unsuccessful, of which likewise sufficient proofs could not be brought against him.

Francis II. sent him and the king of Navarre to the states general, held at Orléans, with a promise of safety. Almost immediately on their

arrival, however, the brothers were arrested, and the prince of Condé was thrown into prison. Commissaries were appointed to bring him to trial; he refused to answer their interrogatories, and claimed the privilege of being judged by his peers. Regardless of his just appeal, they passed sentence of death on him. The king fell sick, and died, and the affairs of the prince of Condé assumed a new aspect. The queen regent, who would not annihilate one party lest the other should grow too powerful, from policy gave him his life and liberty, and thus apparently reconciled the princes of the blood, and the chiefs of the house of Guise; but they still nurtured that deadly hatred which was only stifled for the present soon to break out more fierce and destructive. The intrigues of the queen mother brought over the constable of Montmorency to the faction of the duke de Guise, and maréchal de Saint-André. The king of Navarre, ^{1561.} from interested motives, joined the catholics, and by this conduct left the prince of Condé the sole chief of the huguenots. The queen, alarmed at ^{1562.} the strength of a party which she herself had just raised, continued desirous to balance faction by faction, and solicited the prince of Condé to come and extricate the king from the power of the triumvirate. The prince knew how to avail himself of so plausible a pretext; his policy and ambition soon put him in possession of an army, he

seized on Orléans ; several principal towns declared
1563. in his favor, and he yielded up Hâvre to the
English, to purchase their assistance. The king
of Navarre died at Rouen, which was taken and
pillaged by the catholics. Each party was re-
inforced with German troops ; the two armies gave
battle at Dreux, and the prince of Condé was
taken prisoner. The duke de Guise conducted
himself with signal generosity toward the prince:
they slept in the same bed, as was customary in
those times, and peace was concluded ; but it was
of short duration. Eléonore de Roye, princess of
1564. Condé, died on the 23d of July, the following
year, and the prince in the sequel espoused Fran-
1567. coise D'Orléans-Rothelin. A second civil war
broke out. The prince of Condé undertook to
seize on the king at Meaux : if he were once
master of his royal person he would be equally
the master of government : the project however
failed. This attempt was followed by the battle
of Saint-Denis, the event of which was very doubt-
ful, though the army opposed to that of the prince
of Condé was treble in force. A second peace,
advantageous to the Calvinists, was concluded.
To secure its continuation, the queen wished to
arrest the prince of Condé, whom she justly con-
sidered as the chief of the faction ; the prince
however retreated to Rochelle, and this infructuous
attempt became the signal of a third civil war.

The huguenots, supported by the Germans and the English, again rose in arms : the battle of Jarnac was given ; the prince of Condé, who received two wounds, after having long combatted, was weakened by the loss of blood, and alighted from his horse at the foot of a tree : his armour was taken off, that his wounds might be dressed : he had surrendered to the enemy. In this condition a monster, named Montesquiou, dared to assassinate him by a pistol shot. The genius and bravery of this prince certainly made him worthy of a death less fatal. We cannot but regret that he did not apply the high talents which he had received from nature to a more worthy pursuit ; but may we not rather accuse the misery of the times than his heart ? A French prince of the blood is too intimately connected by birth and personal interest to the throne to be ever suspected of wishing to weaken its majesty ; but he may be mistaken in the means of adding to its lustre and strength, and the errors of the great sometimes are the source of public calamity.

Henry I. second prince of Condé, at the early age of seventeen became the chief of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon ; he did not, however, succeed to the title of chief of the huguenot party, which was conferred on the prince of Béarn (afterward Henry IV.) his cousin german, who was his senior. These princes appear

1572. to have been united by the strictest ties of friendship. They came to court at the same time, August 17th, and a few days after debates were held whether they should not be included in the dreadful massacre of Saint-Bartholomew: the only choice left them was either to embrace the Catholic faith or die. The prince of Condé, notwithstanding his youth, at first appeared inflexible, at length, however, he yielded, as did the prince of Béarn, but these forced conversions were of short duration. In that year the prince of Condé espoused Marie de Clèves, who died without posterity some years afterward. Immediately after the death of Charles IX. the prince of Condé resumed the religion of his ancestors, and the prince of Béarn soon followed his example: in consequence of this step they were excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V. The parliament of Paris made the most spirited remonstrances on the occasion: it was even proposed to burn the bull by the hand of the executioner.
1574. The two princes appealed to a council. The prince of Condé formed a new union with Charlotte de la Trémouille. The following year the battle of
1585. Coutras took place. The prince of Condé, faithful to his promise, behaved like the young kinsman of Henry IV; he died at Saint-Jean-D'Angely, the 5th of March, leaving his wife pregnant, who was delivered on the first of Sep-
- 1586.
- 1587.
- 1588.

tember following of Henry II. third prince of Condé. This princess was strongly suspected of having poisoned her husband, but there are no proofs of her guilt : on the contrary, there is an *arrêt* of parliament, which fully acquits her. People have thought proper to circulate false reports concerning the legitimacy of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé, by publishing that he was born thirteen months after the death of his father. Every historian worthy of credit agrees concerning the dates I have here given ; and the researches of father Griffet, which were printed some years ago, leave no doubt respecting the atrocity of such a calumny.

The life of Henry I. like that of prince Louis, was short ; but it was less chequered with events : less ambitious than his father, his religion rather than his inclination made him fall into similar errors. His high courage and great qualities would have been better known, and more celebrated in history, if truth did not require that this prince should be represented in every critical and striking situation by the side of the prince of Béarn ; but if it be less glorious to hold a second place in the annals of fame, it is still a subject of exultation to only be thrown in shade by the transcendant virtues and laurels of Henry IV.

Henry II. third prince of Condé, espoused ^{1609.} Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency : the same

year the passion which Henry IV. conceived for that princess obliged the prince to retire to Brussels. On the death of that monarch he returned to court, but taking disgust he again retired; the
1613. treaty of Sainte-Menehould, however, which granted the malcontents nearly all they wished,
1615. brought him back immediately. Two years after the debates between the court and the parliament, together with the too great power of the maréchal D'Ancre, determined him a third time to leave the court. The protestants declared in his favor, he published a manifesto, and the
1616. civil war was stifled by a deceitful peace. The prince returned to court and was arrested in the middle of the Louvre by Themines. Luynes, the favorite of Louis XIII. obtained his release to gain the support of that prince who from that period entered into no cabals against the king.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF THE GREAT CONDÉ.



BOOK I.

LOUIS DE BOURBON, second of that name, duke D'Enghien, afterward prince of Condé, known by the name of the Great Condé, was born at Paris, September the 7th, 1621. The celebrity of his career makes us regret that history has not more carefully collected the anecdotes of his infancy. Every thing is interesting which relates to the hero, in that tender age when little is apparent but extreme helplessness; a smile, a gesture, a word, a movement of anger or joy, according to the nature of the stimulus which the infant receives, sometimes announces a new-born energy, which increases as the child acquires

1621.
Birth of
the Great
Condé.

strength, is developed with the organs, and which we remember with interest when circumstances and mature reason show the hero in all his majesty.

His educa-
tion.

The Duke D'Enghien spent his childhood at Bourges, where the prince of Condé then held his usual residence, and presided over the education of his son. The young prince pursued his studies in that town, at the college of the Jesuits, but he did not take up his abode with the fathers; the only mark of distinction he received in his class was that his chair was separated from the rest by a balustrade. His aptitude in learning, and the progress he made in his various studies, at an early period, announced a superior genius: at eight years of age he understood Latin, and at eleven he wrote a treatise on rhetoric, and maintained philosophical controversy with the greatest success. In the summer he went to pass some months at the Château of Montrond, which belonged to his father, who, that he might form a just estimate of the improvement of his son, desired him to write always in Latin. We find by some of these letters that the young prince pursued the amusement of the chace with that ardor by which, in the sequel, all his actions were characterized, and from which so many troubles and famous exploits were to spring. The prince of Condé, fearing lest this passion should divert his

These letters are inserted at the end of the work.

son from his studies, wrote to desire he would lessen the number of his hounds. The duke D'Enghien, who was then fourteen years of age, paid immediate obedience to this command, and returned an answer, full of tenderness and respect to his father, in which he acknowledged that he had followed the pleasures of the chace with too much ardor. The Château of Montrond had great attractions for the young prince; but his father being far more anxious to give him a good education than to gratify his wishes, frequently recalled him to his studies before the stipulated time. In one of his Latin epistles, dated from Bourges at the beginning of October, the duke D'Enghien complained with equal mildness and candor of the absolute order which recalled him so suddenly to town. "The fine weather," he said, *et adolescentis autumnii jucunda temperies* invited him to remain longer in a place where he had never experienced a moment of weariness: "but the will of his father," he added, "would always be held sacred by him." *

The prince of Conde, during the siege of Dôle, which he conducted, and which he was ordered

* Since the first edition of this work appeared, we have been informed that his highness, the prince of Condé, who perfectly remembered having seen the Latin letters, which are inserted at the end of this work, does not recollect that he ever translated, or caused them to be translated into French. (Note of the Editors.)

to raise, when intelligence arrived that the Spaniards had entered France, through Picardy, sent his son into Burgundy. The duke D'Enghien, while at Dijon, wrote thus to his father : " Could I have my wish I should be at the camp to attend on you, mitigate your sufferings*, and sympathize in your anxious cares I take pleasure in reading the heroic actions of our monarchs in history. Such noble examples excite a *holy* emulation but at present I must rest satisfied to remain the child of desire, and pay implicit submission to your will."

1638.

The entrance of the Great Condé into the world.

The duke D'Enghien appeared at court about the time when Louis XIV. was born, and with him a glorious century took birth. The duke was seen with that interest which a young man of high rank, whose manners are amiable, and whose person is dignified, always creates. The young prince, on his part, was struck with amazement, but with no less disgust, at that which was passing at court. From the first moment, he felt indignant at the unlimited power which Richelieu enjoyed, at his unexampled splendor, and at the excessive pomp which that arrogant minister had the presumption to affect as it were under his sovereign's eye. An order from his father was almost always necessary to prevail on the duke D'Enghien to visit the cardinal ; and,

* His father was, at that time, attacked by a fit of the gravel.

at seventeen years of age, this was the greatest proof he could give of his filial obedience. The princess his mother was aware there might be danger in his incessantly brooding over despotism, which was so revolting to his young and lofty mind, and she endeavoured to divert his attention from the court, by forming a select and illustrious society at her own house. She likewise took her son to the Hôtel de Rambouillet, which at that time was frequented by the highest nobility of both sexes, and the most enlightened among the literati. The young prince appeared to the greatest advantage in these circles, and his love for the arts and sciences indicated the first step he took toward that glory which was to be the conclusion and reward of his labors.

From 1639, the prince of Condé sent his son to command in Burgundy; the duke won the confidence and esteem of all ranks, and his father suffered him to make his first campaign under the orders of the maréchal de la Meilleraye. He 1640.
 signalized his courage at the siege of Arras. On First cam-
 the duke's return from the campaign, the prince paign of
 of Condé, whose interests were at that period the Great
 nearly connected with those of the cardinal, Condé.
 obliged his son, February 11th, 1641, to espouse 1641.
 Claire-Clémence de Maillé Brézé, the niece of Marriage
 that minister. The duke D'Enghien performed of the
 miracles of valor at the sieges of Collioure, Per- Great
 Condé.

pignan, and Salces. On his return, he passed through Lyons, and neglected to visit the archbishop of that city, who was brother to the cardinal. The haughty minister complained of this omission to the prince of Condé, who sent his son back immediately to make atonement for neglect which had excited the serious displeasure of the cardinal. The minister was implacable, and his power was absolute: the prince idolized his son, nature pleaded on this occasion, and dignity was silenced.

1643.
The Great
Condé ob-
tains the
command
of the army
of Cham-
pagne and
Picardy.

Richelieu died; the two princes immediately claimed the privileges of their birth, and secured the precedence of the princes of the blood over the cardinals, which Richelieu had usurped. Louis XIII. declared the prince of Condé chief of the council, and gave the duke D'Enghien the command of the army which was to cover the plains of Champagne and Picardy. The enemy at first seemed to threaten the latter province, but they soon determined to commence hostilities in Champagne, the towns of which, being ill fortified, seemed to promise an easy victory, and they laid siege to Rocroi. This intelligence, together with that of the king's death, reached the duke D'Enghien, who was at Joigny. His friends, or rather his enemies, advised him to abandon the defence of the frontiers, and to march to Paris with his army, to make himself master of the regency.

The young prince rejected this treacherous counsel, and hastened to the succour of Rocroi. He had suspected the intentions of the enemy, and had sent Gassion before, to throw succours into the place, who had effected his purpose. The young prince had only confided his intention of giving the enemy battle to that general officer, whom he ordered to reconnoitre whether or no the project were feasible. Burning with the thirst of glory, he had not entrusted his plans to the maréchal de L'Hôpital, whom he knew had only been placed there to moderate his ardor: his impetuous audacity made him perhaps a little too fearful of being checked by the admonitions of prudence; but all that might fetter his courage to him wore the aspect of unworthy cowardice. Gassion, having fulfilled his orders, returned, and made the prince acquainted with the obstacles which the nature of the country opposed to his plan: thick woods, marshes, and defiles served as a rampart to the Spanish army, and seemed to make the capture of Rocroi, the outworks of which were already taken, certain. On the approach of the French army, the duke D'Enghien who only considered these obstacles as the means by which he might augment his glory, called a council of war; he stated the position of the enemy, did not lessen the difficulties of the enterprise, and avowed the motives which determined him to make every

Siege of
Rocroi.

effort to surmount them. Intrepidity and eloquence have a sure dominion over the French. All who listened caught the enthusiasm of the duke, even the *maréchal de L'Hôpital* suffered himself to yield to the general opinion; but he secretly flattered himself that the Spaniards, by defending the defiles, would prevent a general engagement. Don Francisco de Mello had no doubt more enlarged views; it is probable that, depending on the superiority of his force and of his position, he not only wished to stop the progress of the French army but intended to cut it in pieces, and that he consequently did not guard the defiles which, as they alone afforded a retreat to the duke D'Enghien, had that prince been defeated would have secured the utter destruction of his army.

On the 17th of May the French army arrived at Bossut, and the duke D'Enghien made the necessary dispositions to attempt the passage of the defiles on the morrow. On the 18th, at break of day, the army drew near the pass; a wood was pierced, no resistance was made, they reached the defiles, and no body was there to oppose their passage. The *maréchal de L'Hôpital* now felt that the step to which he had consented would have more serious consequences than he had foreseen, and he endeavoured to prevail on the duke D'Enghien to proceed no further; but the young

prince, assuming the tone of the master, answered that he would be responsible for the event, and the maréchal remonstrated no more, but put himself at the head of the left wing, having La Ferté-Sennecterre under his command. The duke took charge of the right wing with Gassion ; D'Espénan headed the infantry, and Sirot the corps of reserve. The passage of the defile was very long and difficult, though the enemy had made no opposition. The march of the artillery, and even that of the infantry, was much retarded by the nature of the country and the difficulty of the roads. Notwithstanding the skilful arrangements of the duke D'Enghien, who manœuvred in advance with his cavalry to cover the passage of the rest of his army, its destruction would have been inevitable, had the Spanish general then attacked him ; but the good fortune of France and the destiny of a hero gave a different turn to that famous day. The duke D'Enghien supported his right wing by the woods, his left by a marsh, and put himself in order of battle in view of the Spaniards, from whom he was only separated by a valley. The artillery began to roar ; but the day advanced, and the two generals did not wish to expose their fame, and the high interests that were entrusted to them to the hazard of night. At that moment La Ferté-Sennecterre, by his rash zeal, had nearly brought destruction on the army of

the duke D'Enghien, and perhaps on the kingdom. That general officer, wholly unauthorised by his commander, formed the project to throw succours into Rocroi; he put his cavalry in motion, caused some battalions to follow it, and passed the marsh; so that the remainder of his squadron was left abandoned. Mello advanced to profit by this blunder, the duke D'Enghien perceived the motion of the enemy, and learned by what it was occasioned: he immediately dispatched an express to order La Ferté to return, and, to the utmost of his ability, remedied that officer's imprudence, by making the troops of the second line advance, and fill up the void of the first. Mello halted, and by this delay he enabled La Ferté to recover his station. A blunder, which could not be foreseen, had exposed France to the most imminent danger: a second blunder, and one which could not have been expected, snatched her from impending ruin, and led the way to the most glorious success. How precarious is the fate of empires!!

Order was every where restored, night drew on and gave that tranquillity which under such circumstances great souls alone can feel. Fires were lighted in every part; the duke, wrapped up in his cloak, took his night quarters with the regiment of Picardy. The arrangements of the general, the fatigues that had been undergone, the

event of the following day, and the desire of each to signalize his courage, occupied the officer, the soldier, and the multitude. The duke D'Enghien having given his orders fell into a sound sleep; he rose at break of day, mounted his horse, visited the ranks, and harangued the soldiers with that manly eloquence with which the hero is inspired at such moments. The white plume, which the most illustrious of the Bourbons held as the sacred signal of honor and victory, waved on his helmet: This costume, so revered by Frenchmen, and worthy in every respect of him who wore it, received additional dignity from the countenance, eyes, and mien of the duke D'Enghien: he was every where hailed with those shouts of confidence and enthusiasm in which, as it were, sensibility, courage, hope, and delight are mingled, which are the source of those delicious tears, foreign to weakness, for which we cannot account, and which must have been shed by ourselves ere we can conceive their exquisite nature. The duke D'Eng-
hien, like a skilful general, first attacked a wood, filled with musketeers, who flanked the valley which that prince had to cross in order to reach the enemy. To fall upon and rout them was the work of a moment. Being master of the wood, the young prince ordered Gassion to take the duke D'Albuquerque and the Spanish cavalry in flank, while he attacked them in front. This cavalry

Battle of
Rocroi.

was put to rout, and the duke D'Enghien immediately fell upon the German, Walloon, and Italian infantry, of which he made dreadful havoc. Wherever the duke came victory declared for the French; but it was the reverse on the side of the *maréchal de L'Hôpital*. Mello had given that commander a vigorous repulse; and, pushing the advantage he had gained, had fallen upon the infantry, which he cut in pieces, taken all the artillery, and penetrated as far as the corps of reserve, headed by Sirot, which had not yet been in the action. This disastrous intelligence reached the duke D'Enghien, who was in pursuit of the troops he had routed; that prince immediately formed a resolution of which the Great Condé alone was capable: he mustered his cavalry, passed behind the whole line of Spanish infantry, and vigorously fell on the rear of the cavalry of Mello, who was pursuing the French. An attack so unexpected threw the enemy into the greatest disorder, and this daring manœuvre, being supported by miracles of valor, robbed the Spaniards of an advantage which seemed to make their victory certain. The whole of the Spanish infantry, under the command of Fuentes, whose infirmities had neither impaired his courage nor his talents, was still to be conquered. The proud aspect which this infantry maintained, though the rout had become almost general, fore-

told the obstinate resistance they would make. The duke at that moment was informed that General Beck was approaching with six thousand men to join the Spaniards; he sent Gassion with a part of his cavalry to retard the arrival of this reinforcement, and lost no time in attacking the Spanish infantry, before a junction might be effected; but he experienced the most vigorous resistance. On the approach of the French cavalry, the Count de Fuentes, making a brisk fire, opened some of his battalions and unmasked a battery loaded with grape shot, which it was impossible to resist. The duke D'Enghien thrice brought his cavalry to the charge, but always without success. These difficulties did not discourage that prince, but determined him to bring forward his whole resources: he made the corps of reserve advance, the approach of which decided the victory. The Spaniards seeing themselves surrounded on every side, waved their hats to ask for quarter; and the duke advanced to put a stop to the carnage; but the enemy accustomed to see him scatter death and destruction, imagined that he had given orders for a new attack, and made a terrible discharge from which the duke D'Enghien escaped only by miracle. The French, mistaking this error for treachery, rushed on all parts on the Spaniards, of whom they made horrible slaughter, The vanquished thronged round the prince to im-

plore his clemency, and request he would command his soldiers to desist; but it was not without incredible difficulty that he could make them give quarter.

In the midst of his glory he collected his troops and prepared to attack General Beck, whom he supposed to be very near the field of battle; but Gassion came to inform him that the defeat had even extended to that corps, which in retreating had left a part of the artillery behind. On this intelligence the duke D'Enghien threw himself on his knees, at the head of his army, to return thanks to the God of battles for the victory he had gained. He embraced his generals, not excepting La Ferté-Senneckerre, and lavished the encomiums they deserved, as a prelude to the promotions which he warmly solicited in their behalf. On this celebrated day, which only cost France two thousand men, the Spaniards lost more than sixteen thousand, with one and twenty pieces of cannon, three hundred flags or banners, and a great number of officers, among whom the brave Count de Fuentes, whose cool valor had like to have proved so fatal to us, was found expiring by the side of the litter on which he had been carried.

Those persons, no doubt, who had advised the duke D'Enghien, previous to the battle, to march with his army to the capital, renewed this advice

after the victory ; but it was equally rejected : the young prince, without hesitation, preferred the honor of serving the state to the ambition of governing.

The Spanish army being almost totally destroyed an open field was left to his talents ; the conquest of maritime Flanders was certainly the most brilliant he could undertake, but that would have been impossible without the aid of a naval force, of which France was then in want. The Spaniards had thrown succours into the towns on the Scheld, and in conformity to their plans were less occupied with those on the Moselle. This circumstance, as well as that of the magazines which were established in Champagne, determined the duke D'Enghien to propose the siege of Thionville. The court at first refused ; the duke insisted ; government yielded ; and preparations were made for this great enterprize.

The duke, after endeavouring to mislead the enemy by sending detachments into Flanders, as far as the gates of Brussels, began his march toward the Moselle, and in a week arrived before Thionville, two days after his van guard, which was headed by the marquis D'Aumont. The court had likewise dispatched some garrisons from Burgundy and Champagne to that point, under command of the marquis de Sévres, who was killed during the siege. The first care of the duke was

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to send a detachment on the other side of the Moselle to prevent the Spaniards from throwing succours into the town. Grancey, to whom the prince entrusted this commission, misinformed by his spies acquitted himself ill of his trust, and suffered a reinforcement of two thousand men to penetrate into the place. The duke D'Enghien was sensibly grieved at this circumstance which would necessarily make the victory more tedious, expensive, and difficult, but he did not alter his resolution. He caused the works to be begun, and in despite of the frequent sallies of the besieged, fixed his lines, built bridges, raised redoubts, opened the trenches on the 25th of June, and unmasked his batteries the 1st of July. The siege was carried on with vigor, and the place was defended with equal obstinacy. The besiegers, with incredible difficulty, succeeded in stationing themselves on the covered way; they labored to fill up the ditches; they attacked two bastions at once; the French were repulsed, but not put in confusion; the presence of the duke D'Enghien every where remedied or prevented disorder, but an unforeseen accident seemed to destroy all his hopes; the Moselle overflowed, washed away the bridges, and separated all the divisions. If general Beck, who encamped under Luxemburg, had attacked the troops which were stationed on the other side of the Moselle, all would have been

lost; but the daring courage of the duke D'Enghien had made defeat and timidity familiar to his foes. The misfortune was repaired, and the opportunity lost before the enemy thought of profiting by the advantages which chance had offered them. The siege advanced, the firing was redoubled, the attacks were multiplied, the besieged defended themselves with heroic courage; but, notwithstanding their efforts, the miners completed the sapping of the place. The besiegers only waited the effect of these subterraneous explosions to mount to the assault; but the duke D'Enghien, to prevent the shedding of blood, summoned the governor, and permitted him to inspect the state of the works. The latter, convinced of the impossibility of longer holding out, surrendered on the 22d of August, after a vigorous resistance of two months.

This capture soon made the duke D'Enghien master of the whole course of the Moselle. During the siege, the princess his consort, was delivered, July 29, at Paris, of a son, who was first called duke D'Albret, then duke D'Enghien, and afterward known by the name of prince Henri-Jules. Having made the necessary regulations and arrangements the duke left the army to the care of the duke D'Angoulême, and returned to Paris. Here he was hailed and rewarded with those honors, acclamations, and applauses, which

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of Thion-
ville.

a generous and grateful people so willingly bestow, especially when the hero is adorned with the splendor of rank and the graces of youth.

A fortnight after his arrival, he was sent by the court into Germany, with a reinforcement to the army of the maréchal de Guébriant, who was at that time hard pressed by general Mercy. The arrival of the young prince inspired confidence and joy ; he provided for the safety of Alsatia and Lorrain, and again returned to court. On his arrival, the queen presented him with the government of Champagne, and the town of Stenai.

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The duke D'Orléans the following campaign obtained the command of the army of the Low Countries, so that the duke D'Enghien only commanded a very small corps in the country of Luxemburg. He planned the siege of Trèves, but he received orders to march to the borders of the Rhine and join the army of M. de Turenne, which was inferior to that under the command of general Mercy. This general, after having defeated the count de Rantzau at Tuttlingen, had retaken Rothwil and already laid siege to Friburg, which the duke, when he reached Brizach, was informed had capitulated. His concern for the cloud in which this loss would envelop the glory of the royal arms was great, but the young prince seemed to chain fortune to his car ; his presence every where fixed or allured her. On his junction

with the army of Turenne, the duke D'Enghien, in concert with that great man, determined to revenge the capture of Friburg by attacking the enemy; though obstacles, which would have been insurmountable to any other but the duke, seemed to oppose his plan: a frightful country, covered with woods, mountains, rocks, and ditches; a camp fortified with redoubts, chevaux de frise, and trees cut down; in short all the resources of art, skilfully employed by a general no less vigilant than experienced, only presented the horrors of battle without holding the laurels of victory in view. But the duke D'Enghien, who had formed the project of making himself master of the Rhine by seizing on Philipsburg, Landau, Mayence, and all the towns which bordered that river, felt that he could not effect this till the imperial army should be defeated. Successes so decisive as those he proposed to accomplish, determined him to make the most perilous of attempts. The duke, whose eye never deceived him, remarked that Mercy, depending on the nature of the ground, had made fewer entrenchments on his left flank than on the rest of his position, but it was necessary first to pass a dangerous defile, and then to take a long circuit, to attack that side. This charge he entrusted to Turenne, and made preparations that he might fall on the front of the line at the same hour. At five o'clock in the

evening he supposed that Turenne might have reached his destination, and he issued his orders; the troops immediately put themselves in motion, climbed the mountain, crossed the lines under the enemy's fire, reached the intrenchments, attacked them with success, and, notwithstanding the great resistance they met, forced the Bavarians to retire to their last means of defence. Having overcome obstacles so numerous, the strength of the soldier seemed exhausted, and his daring to have attained its climax: he stood motionless under the enemy's fire, and, though he thought not of yielding to the foe, he seemed to doubt at a moment when hesitation would have ensured defeat. The duke D'Enghien arrived with the *maréchal de Grammont*, perceived the consternation of the troops, and immediately took the only step which could restore confidence: he alighted, put himself at the head of the regiment of *Conti*, approached the entrenchments, and threw over his staff of command. This daring action was the signal of victory. The soldiers, ambitious to snatch so precious a trophy from the enemy, instantly determined to brave a thousand deaths, rather than desert a hero who would command none but the victorious: they rushed unanimously to the attack, the line was forced, and the vigorous resistance, which the enemy opposed, at length yielded to the pertinacity of the French and their com-

mander. The Bavarians, however, still maintained their post in one of their redoubts, night drew on, and the duke D'Enghien had not yet received any intelligence of Turenne. He determined to rally his infantry, and to make his cavalry advance, with incredible difficulty, to the summit of the mountain; there he ordered the military band to play, that Turenne might know he was the master of that important post. Turenne had found more obstacles than the duke D'Enghien had foreseen, and had not been able to act in concert with that prince. Mercy, depending on his entrenchments, his works, and his redoubts, had some what thinned his front line to oppose Turenne; the latter however had overcome all obstacles, and had driven back the enemy to their lines when he heard the signal given by the duke D'Enghien on the mountain. Being thus informed of that general's success, he wished to complete the victory, and made a vigorous effort to force the last entrenchment, but he was driven back: the darkness of the night, which was increased by incessant rain, obliged the French to suspend the attack, with the firm determination to renew it before morning: but general Mercy, who had already lost above six thousand men, did not think it advisable to wait for the enemy in his present position; he evacuated the entrenchment, of which Turenne could not pos-

sess himself during the night, and covering his retreat by a continual firing, which he directed to that side, he reached the Black Mountain, on the summit of which he entrenched, extending his right wing as far as the cannon of Friburg. This retreat was not perceived by the duke till break of day ; he would immediately have attacked the rear guard of the enemy, but he was prevented by the extreme fatigue of the troops, and the whole of the day of the 4th was employed on the duke's part in making every necessary arrangement to complete his victory, and by the enemy in neglecting nothing which might baffle his efforts, and strengthen their position. It was too extensive for the forces of their army, and the duke did not suffer the advantage he might gain to escape him. The night was spent in tranquillity, day soon appeared, excess of fatigue had produced rest which revived confidence and strength. The duke made his arrangements ; Turenne, with the Veymariens, was ordered to attack the left wing of the enemy on the mountain ; under him D'Aumont led the infantry, and Rose the cavalry ; a thousand musketeers, headed by L'Echelle, formed the van guard of this corps. D'Espénan at the head of the infantry, was to attack the enemy's right wing, which extended to Friburg. A false attack was made on the centre ; the maréchal de Grammont commanded the ca-

valry, which the duke had stationed in the plain to march wherever their assistance might be efficacious, or necessary. The duke went forward with Turenne to reconnoitre the enemy more nearly, and forbad his generals to take any measure without his orders : but there are dangers in war which human prudence cannot foresee. D'Espé-
nan, an officer of reputation, in the duke's absence, thought proper to attack a redoubt, which the enemy occupied beyond him in the valley ; the Bavarians defended it, D'Espé-
nan reinforced the troops he had sent to the assault, the firing grew more heavy ; L'Echelle, thinking the onset had begun, attacked the enemy on his side, and the two armies came to action without their respective generals having given the word of command. The duke returned full speed, but there was no alternative but to support the blunder which had been committed. Already L'Echelle is killed, his musketeers are cut to pieces, the Bavarians advance, the French valor begins to stagger ; the duke and Turenne make a vigorous onset at the head of the Veymariens, but they are repulsed, the terror becomes general, and notwithstanding the efforts of Tournon, Marsin, and Grammont, all fly, and the duke remains one of twenty thirty paces from the barricade.

Seeing that his example had no effect he determined to penetrate on the side of d'Espé-
nan.

A new action more bloody than the first is begun ; victory seems to declare for the French, but the intrepidity of Gaspard de Mercy, brother to the general, still makes it doubtful ; he orders his cavalry to alight, attacks the French, and recovers the ground which the Bavarian infantry had lost : he is soon driven back ; he rallies his men and returns to the charge ; the firing becomes terrible, and victory is uncertain : the day draws to a close, yet the contest is not less fierce ; the night, far from terminating, only augments the horrors of this sanguinary engagement, so that darkness cannot quell the fury of the combatants.

Excess of fatigue at length put an end to the carnage : the duke D'Enghien caused the wounded to be taken up, and returned to his camp. If victory seemed to desert him on this occasion, the blame could only be laid to the precipitate step of D'Espéran. The duke, though he supported that measure, did not the less keenly feel its error : proud and strong of mind he could ill-endure to be robbed of victory by ardor so indiscreet ; but the repentance of D'Espéran appeared so sincere that it disarmed his anger. The impetuosity of his genius, if I may be allowed the expression, sometimes led him into violence, but the excellence of his heart always made him return to lenity. An ordinary general no doubt would have been discouraged by the ill-success of that day, but,

at the very time the duke D'Enghien was repulsed by the Bavarian army, he formed the daring project not only to put it to the rout but to destroy it, by cutting off its retreat.

Judging by the vigorous attacks he had sustained that he should, sooner or later, be forced to yield to the valor of the French troops, and their commander, Mercy only considered how to make an honorable retreat ; this he justly foresaw would be attended with danger in the face of so daring a foe ; he therefore thought it necessary to entrench himself still more in his position, to make it more respectable, till he found he could quit it without being dangerously exposed.

The duke D'Enghien was busied with the project I have mentioned, but it was necessary to traverse woods and marshes, in sight of the enemy, to strike into the road of Fillinghen, by which the enemy drew their convoys, and which was their only way of retreat. Three days were devoted to the repose of the army, and in making preparations for the movement, of which the duke felt all the danger, but which he preferred to the uncertainty of a third violent assault. On the 9th, at break of day, all were on the march, which was executed in the greatest order. The innumerable obstacles presented at every step, by the narrow and marshy roads, were surmounted, and the rear-

guard, with which the duke had remained, put itself in motion unmolested by the enemy.

Mercy, from his military experience, had foreseen the project of the duke D'Enghien, and finding that he had not a moment to lose in securing his retreat to Fillinghen, had begun his march toward that place. This intelligence reached the duke at Landelinghen, and, thinking that the precipitancy of the Bavarians would not allow him to arrive in time to cut off their retreat, he immediately sent Rose with eight hundred horse to harass their rear guard, and continued his march.

Finding himself hard pressed, and supposing from the nature of the country, that the duke would not be able to come to the succour of this detachment; Mercy halted, and made an impetuous onset on the count de Rose: the latter sustained the shock with vigor, and made as long a stand as he could; but the inequality of his force obliged him to seek his safety in a defile he had just passed, and thus fell back upon the army, which hastened to his relief. On its approach Mercy ceased to pursue Rose, and only thought of continuing his retreat to Fillinghen. He marched with such precipitation that he left his baggage and artillery behind, and the duke D'Enghien followed him so close that Mercy did not think himself in safety at Fillinghen, but

marched all night, nor did he halt till he was twenty leagues from the field of battle. The defeat of the greatest Captain in Europe transferred that distinction to his conqueror. This triple victory cost the enemy ten thousand men, and six thousand to France. Alas! why must the triumphs of a hero only reach us through torrents of blood, and rivulets of tears?

The object of the junction of the duke D'Enghien with the army of Turenne had been to succour Friburg. The recovery of this place seemed to be the natural result of so decisive a victory; the general officers concurred in advising this measure; but the duke, to whom the retreat of Mercy left the choice of conquests, was afraid of being detained during the remainder of the campaign before the place, and was of opinion that Philipsburg, notwithstanding its distance, would be a more useful acquisition. To form his determination, begin his march, undertake the siege, and be successful, were the same thing.

He ordered Champlâtreux to send ten pieces of cannon, with ammunition, provisions, and a bridge of boats, from Brizach, by way of the Rhine; and after having seized on some castles on his route, he arrived before Philipsburg, August 25th, with five thousand infantry. With this handful of men and his ten pieces of cannon, he silenced a hundred, accomplished prodigious works, repulsed

the sallies of the besieged, made himself master of Guermesheim and Spires by his detachments, and finally forced Bamberg, one of the best generals in Europe, to capitulate, when the trenches had been eleven days opened ; an event which, if it had not happened almost in our own times, would appear rather fabulous than real : but its having happened proves that genius and activity are always successful, when their efforts are regulated by prudence.

The duke D'Enghien encamped his army under Philipsburg, and dispatched the viscount de Turenne to seize on Worms, Oppenheim, and Mentz. The two first made no resistance, but Mentz would only surrender to the duke in person : he went, the city gates were opened, all the corporate bodies harangued him in Latin ; the young prince replied in the same language with no less ease than dignity, and returned to his camp. He immediately sent the marquis D'Aumont to besiege Landau ; that nobleman was killed, and replaced by Turenne, to whom Creutznach had just surrendered. The duke, who daily assisted at the labors of the siege, happened to be in the trenches when the enemy hung out a flag of truce, and retired, to suffer M. de Turenne, whom that prince, superior to envy, always considered as a worthy coadjutor rather than a rival, to sign the capitulation. The capture of Landau

was followed by that of Manheim and some other places; the duke afterward left Turenne at the head of the army and returned to France, where he met a reception worthy of his merits.

On his appearance at court, the duke D'Enghien enjoyed the high consideration which his victories and great qualities could not fail to command. He employed his influence in warmly serving those whom he esteemed. We feel a tender admiration in beholding that young prince descend from his important avocations to acquaint himself with the hearts of his friends, and their affections, aid them when honorable, and frequently bestow the charms of life with the gifts of fortune.

The count de Chabot loved and was beloved by Mlle. de Rohan but their union was attended with difficulties: these difficulties were set aside by the duke D'Enghien, who obtained the rank of duke and peer for that nobleman. The chancellor Séguier was irritated against his daughter, the marchioness de Coislin, who had privately married M. de Laval, and the duke undertook to appease the father: he was successful, and was rejoiced to witness the felicity of his two friends.

A prince who was but four and twenty, and who sympathized so feelingly with others in the happiness which the sweet and ardent passion of love bestows, could not himself be indifferent. Mlle. du Vigean, and others, had caught his at-

tention for a moment, but the charms of Mlle. de Boutteville raised a violent passion in his breast.

The duke de Châtillon, one of the most intimate friends of the prince, was in love with that young lady, whom he wished to espouse; he soon perceived the sentiments of the duke, to whom he confided his passion and intentions: the young prince, moved by this frank and noble proceeding, did not hesitate to promise the sacrifice of his inclinations: he did more; he facilitated that nobleman's union with Mlle. de Boutteville, and, as long as the duke lived, respected the ties he had formed. The merit of this sacrifice was the greater because, though he silenced, he could not conquer his passion, as the sequel of this history will show.

It was not by these traits the duke D'Enghien merited the name of Great, which was bestowed on him; but they are not the less interesting. In reading the exploits of a hero, we delight to occasionally repose with him in the sweets of domestic life; we are pleased that admiration should occasionally give way to a calmer feeling; it is a source of self-applause to find that he has not disdained those virtues which are more within our reach; it is, if we may so speak, the *chiar oscuro*, which tempers, without tarnishing, the dazzling splendor of his high gifts; the amiable qualities of the man make the hero beloved,

Though tender and susceptible of heart, the duke D'Enghien was not the less impetuous. One of the exempts, at a festival given by the duke D'Orléans, happened to touch his face; his impetuosity made him break that officer's staff. This outrage had nearly sown division between the two princes, but they were reconciled by cardinal Mazarin, whose interest at that time required they should remain friends, and the affair went no further. But a contest arose between the duke D'Orléans and the coadjutor,* concerning the precedence of the church, which had nearly proved fatal. The duke D'Enghien supported the coadjutor; the prince of Condé hastened to the archbishop's palace, where, by employing alternate menace and intreaty, he succeeded in hushing the affair. The coadjutor, much to the dissatisfaction of the duke D'Orléans, was only required to make an apology to that prince; and was enabled to support his claim by the open protection which had been granted him by the duke D'Enghien.

In the distribution of the various military corps then maintained by France, that of which the duke D'Enghien had the command only amounted from seven to eight thousand troops, whose destination was to prevent the duke de Lorraine from acting. That prince wished to succour Lamotte, which was besieged by the marquis de Villeroy,

* Cardinal de Retz.

but his army was harassed by the intrepidity and manœuvres of the duke D'Enghien, who obliged him to desist from further attempts to trouble this enterprize. The defeat of Turenne at Mariendal, changed the destination of the duke D'Enghien. Agreeable to the orders of his court, and the wish of the nation, he marched with his corps to join the wreck of that general's army, and take the chief command. The junction was effected at Spires ; the remnant of Turenne's army, added to the Hessian and Swedish auxiliaries, made the army of the duke D'Enghien about twenty-three thousand strong. The count of Konismark, and the baron of Gois, commanders of the foreign troops, petitioned to withdraw with their respective corps, and the duke with great difficulty prevailed on them to remain : at length however they promised not to retire before he had given battle to general Mercy.

The duke D'Enghien immediately determined to march to Heilbronn, an important place, which served as a rampart to Suabia, Bavaria, and Franconia. General Mercy made a march which forced the prince to change his direction ; he therefore thought proper to attempt to open himself a passage to the Danube ; he seized on Wimpfen, crossed the Neckar, and took possession of Rothenburg with some other towns and fortresses, The count of Konismark, false to his promise,

renewed his solicitations to withdraw with his corps; the prince, perceiving he was not to be detained, publicly wished him a good journey. The Swedes retired; the Hessians were much inclined to retire likewise, but their sovereign's command obliged them to continue under that of the duke D'Enghien. General Mercy had stationed himself advantageously at Veitvaneck; the duke endeavoured to make him quit his post, and, not succeeding in this attempt, invested Dunkelspiel. Mercy advanced to succour the place; the duke D'Enghien informed of that general's approach, raised his quarters and marched to meet him: the two armies came face to face in the middle of a forest, but general Mercy had so disposed his troops that he could not be attacked. The cannonading was incessant till night, when the duke decamped and presented himself before Norlingue. Mercy immediately marched to Donawert. The prince, whose plan had always been to keep the enemy at a distance from Heilbronn, made preparations to approach that town; but he learned that Mercy was on his march; that he had already crossed the Wernitz, and that he was preparing to relieve Norlingue. This intelligence was very welcome to the duke, who had begun to doubt whether Mercy would risk the event of an engagement, and he gained the plain of Norlingue, where the two armies drew up for battle. That

of the enemy was stationed on a height, which extended from the hills of Wimberg, which supported its right, as far as the castle of Allerem, which supported its left. The village of the same name was a little beyond the center; there Mercy had placed artillery and infantry, and had already intrenched the whole of his front. This formidable position made Turenne think it would be not only rash but dangerous to attack the enemy. The duke D'Enghien, on the contrary, was only intent on gaining a new victory. It is singular that these great men, who entertained a mutual esteem for each other, should almost always have had different views on important occasions; the one only thought how to guard against the caprice of fortune, the other how to snatch her favors; the enlightened prudence of the one always suggested the safest expedients; the ardent genius of the other made him always adopt the most prompt.

Having reconnoitred the enemy's position, the duke D'Enghien returned to his troops with that serenity of countenance so necessary to a general: to him the soldier looks up for confidence, and his hopes ought never to be disappointed. The duke made his arrangements; the *maréchal de Grammont* commanded the right, Turenne the left, Chabot led the reserve, and Marsin the infantry in the centre, destined to attack the vil-

lage, by which the prince intended to begin the action. The enemy's artillery at first had greatly the advantage, it swept away whole ranks ; which determined the duke to lose no time in attacking the entrenchment. Marsin pushed the onset with a vigor which nothing could resist ; he made his attack, pressed forward, and took possession of the village. Mercy, knowing the importance of the post, immediately sent a detachment to its relief ; Marsin was wounded, and the French were repulsed. La Moussaye brought up fresh troops, and recommenced the battle ; but he was on the point of being forced to retreat when the duke came to his succour, with the remainder of the infantry. Mercy reinforced his troops, and the possession of the village was contested on each side with an obstinacy which long rendered victory doubtful. At the same instant the duke received a slight wound, and Mercy the stroke of death. The fury of the combatants augmented ; the French gained ground, but the most vigorous efforts could not drive the enemy from the church and one house, of which they still keep possession : the duke, notwithstanding his wound, hastened to his right wing, to attack Jean de Wert, who commanded the left of the enemy ; but a deep ditch prevented him from reaching that commander. He then flew to the left, where he found

Turenne vigorously pressing the right of the imperialists, who were led by general Gleen; but the viscount was repulsed by the second line of the enemy. The duke advanced at the head of the Hessians and Veymariens, to make a decisive effort; but in the interim Jean de Wert had passed the ditch to fall on the maréchal de Grammont, who had not been able to resist the impetuosity of this attack. Chabot, who had led on his corps of reserve, had not been more fortunate, and lost his life; in short, the destruction of the French army would have been inevitable, if Jean de Wert had not amused himself with pursuing the fugitives too far, instead of leading his victorious troops to the succour of the centre and the right wing; but he did not take this decisive measure till it was too late. The attack of the duke D'Enghien had been highly successful; the infantry of the foe had been cut to pieces, Gleen was taken, the village stormed, and the artillery which had been seized having been turned against the Bavarian infantry, which still supported the village from the centre, had forced it to entirely evacuate the post. Jean de Wert, finding affairs in that state, thought it would be in vain to make further resistance; he retired on the height of Allerem, and in the night time made so precipitate a retreat to Donawert, that

Turenne who was dispatched in pursuit of that general, could not overtake him before he had crossed the Danube.

On this famous day the enemy lost about six thousand troops killed or taken prisoners, almost the whole of their artillery, and forty flags, or standards: it cost France four thousand men, and many officers of distinction. Turenne and Grammont were slightly wounded; the duke D'Enghien had two horses killed and three wounded under him, received a violent contusion on the thigh, a pistol shot in the elbow, and more than twenty bullets in his clothes. But his courage, his good fortune, and his genius, equally surmounted pain, opposition, difficulties, and danger. Norlingue and Dunkelspiel soon surrendered to the conqueror; he resumed his plan of attacking Heilbronn, marched to, and invested, that place; but excess of fatigue made him fall dangerously ill: he was transported to Philipsburg with an escort of a thousand horse, commanded by the *maréchal de Grammont*, who would not trust the safety of his general and his friend to any but himself. The duke grew worse, his life was despaired of, and the army and the people were in utter consternation. The queen, and the prince, his father, sent the most eminent physicians to his relief.

Their skill, the excellent constitution of the prince, and his fortunate destiny, which yet had

so many laurels in reserve, at length prevailed, and he recovered, to the great joy of the nation. The duke returned to Paris, where he was more gratified by the tender interest his presence excited than by the grateful acclamations with which the emotions of the people were mingled.

The prosperity of France, as we have before observed, seemed to be attached to the person of the duke D'Enghien. After his departure the ardor of the French troops abated, and the enemy finding their's revive took heart, advanced under the command of Jean de Wert, and obliged Grammont and Turenne to abandon almost the whole of the conquests of the duke D'Enghien.

1646.

The year after, cardinal Mazarin wished to send him to head the army of Italy: the prince of Condé was averse to the duke's accepting so distant a station, and by his influence the command was transferred to prince Thomas of Savoy. The cardinal, who still meditated the conquest of the Low Countries, did not find the success of the duke D'Orléans, who commanded in those parts, equal to what might be expected; the persons about that prince, especially the Abbé de la Rivère, by whom he was entirely governed, did him great prejudice, which was extended to the military operations. Such is the misfortune attached to exalted rank: princes are of necessity encircled by persons, who, under the treacherous mask of

zealous affection, are the greatest enemies of their glory. Gaston had not sufficient strength of mind to guard against such insidious flattery. Of this the cardinal was aware, and used every means to make him weary of a command with which he was desirous to invest the duke D'Enghien : his efforts, however, were unsuccessful, and the duke D'Orléans, stimulated by the advice of his minions, showed the most obstinate determination to continue at the head of the army of Flanders. The cardinal could not ask the duke D'Enghien, whose rank was his least advantage, to serve under a prince who had no other claim ; but the duke, only considering how best to serve the state, and always swayed by true glory, spontaneously proposed to march under the orders of the duke D'Orléans : this offer was received with joy by the cardinal, and eagerly accepted. Throughout the campaign the duke D'Enghien gave example of subordination, and zealously exerted himself for the success of the army. Such conduct ought not to claim applause ; but, in our present imperfect state, the discharge of a simple duty is considered as an effort of virtue.

The duke D'Enghien at first commanded a separate corps: in the council of war, held at Compiègne, in the queen's presence, he proposed to cross the Scheld, and give battle to the enemy, who covered Tournai: this bold advice was worthy

of its author; but only those who could execute the plan were capable of feeling its various advantages; it was therefore rejected, and the council determined on the siege of Courtrai. The duke de Lorraine had crossed the Scheld which he repassed on the approach of the French army. The duke D'Enghien then retracted his first opinion, and most of the generals entered into his views: he seized on a castle which facilitated the means of subsistence in passing the river. Every thing seemed to prosper, but Gaston, the most undecided of men, changed his opinion, and on this second occasion determined to besiege Tournai, which he caused to be invested, leaving the duke D'Enghien to hold the duke de Lorraine in check. The place was ill-attacked, succours were thrown in, the siege lingered; the duke D'Orléans finding he had not sufficient troops to invest Tournai, recalled the duke D'Enghien, who joined his commander. The duke de Lorraine advanced to the succour of Courtrai, the duke D'Enghien proposed to attack that prince; but Gaston swayed by the Abbé de la Rivière, whose advice was always suggested by intrigue or cowardice, would not consent: the two armies then intrenched, to the great surprise of the French troops, who had long been taught by the duke D'Enghien to consider intrepidity as the sure road to success.

The maréchal de Gassion was quartered nearest

the enemy; the duke D'Enghien often exposed his own quarters to be attacked by bringing succours to those of M. de Gassion, where the alarms were most frequent; but in a short time that prince discovered these alarms were given by the maréchal merely to frighten the Abbé de la Rivière, and felt much displeased that Gassion should dare to trifle with a courage so proved as his had been, by mounting on the back of the trenches. Other actions, equally reprehensible, in the sequel deprived that general of the duke's friendship.

The siege was carried on with tolerable vigor, but the approach of the duke de Lorraine and the Spanish army began to make its success doubtful. The Abbé de la Rivière, on this occasion, had the audacity in full council to propose raising of the siege, but his proposal was received with so much contempt that Gaston dared not adopt the Abbé's advice. The duke de Lorraine made several attacks on the French quarters, but without success; at length, on the attack of the duke D'Enghien, the governor asked to surrender: the duke conducted the officers, deputed for this purpose, in person to Gaston, and obtained the most honorable capitulation. The army of the duke de Lorraine escaped the duke D'Orléans; the latter suffered himself to be the dupe of that general,

who only demanded a conference that he might gain time to secure his retreat.

A powerful diversion on the part of Holland was expected, but the dilatory conduct of the stadtholder, who demanded a reinforcement of French infantry, soon shewed that no dependance must be placed on his exertions. The princes, nevertheless, marched to expedite this reinforcement to the Dutch army, that the stadtholder might have no pretext to remain inactive : they found the Spaniards ranged in order of battle at the entrance of the plain of Bruges : as might be expected, the duke D'Enghien, who commanded the van-guard, proposed an immediate attack ; but it was postponed to the next day, and the enemy decamped during the night. It is thus we often lose time that is precious in consideration ; whereas we ought to act with promptitude. The duke D'Enghien went in pursuit of the Spaniards, but they had taken shelter under the cannon of Bruges, and he could only capture a few prisoners. An officer, whom he took prisoner with his own hand, unconscious to whom he was speaking, informed the prince that the Spaniards had determined on a retreat when they found that the van-guard was led by the duke D'Enghien. Though modesty adorns the hero, on such an occasion he might be allowed to feel his greatness. The reinforcement was sent to the prince of Orange, under command of the

maréchal de Grammont, and the army on its return crossed the Lis. Berghes was soon taken: the duke D'Enghien proposed the siege of Dunkirk, but the duke D'Orleans preferred that of Mardick, which had surrendered to him the preceding campaign, but which the Spaniards had retaken by surprise. The army arrived before that place, August 4; the garrison daily received succours, of every kind, from the marquis de Caracéne, who was encamped under Dunkirk. The night of the 12th to the 13th, when attacked by the duke D'Enghien, they had stationed themselves on the counterscarp, and the young prince, persuaded the enemy would rest during the day, left the trenches; but he was scarcely departed when the besieged made a furious sally, repulsed the entrenched troops, and destroyed the labors of the night. The duke D'Enghien immediately hastened back, rallied the troops, and, by performing miracles of valor as well as displaying the most astonishing presence of mind, he repaired all the mischief. Many persons of distinction lost their lives on this occasion; the prince's company of light horse, under the command of Bussy-Rabutin, behaved with signal gallantry.

The quarters of the maréchal de Gassion were attacked, August 15, by a detachment sent from Dunkirk. The duke D'Enghien, who was

in the trenches, which he scarcely ever left, was wounded in the face and one arm, by the carelessness of a French soldier, who let a grenade fall at the feet of the prince. The young prince was the first to ridicule the gazetteer, who published that the duke had been wounded by the enemy. On such occasions truth cannot be injurious to the hero. While his wounds were dressing, Don Ferdinand de Solis, who commanded in Mardick, sent four of his principal officers with proposals to surrender. The duke D'Enghien would have had them conducted to the duke D'Orléans, but to this the latter would not consent; he went himself to the prince: the town surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The duke D'Orléans then returned to court, and resigned the command of the army to the duke D'Enghien, who had long been called to this eminent post, which others might hold, but which he alone was capable of worthily filling, by his talents, his success, the love of the soldiers, the wish of the nation, and the voice of all Europe.

About this time the duke de Brézé, great admiral of France, and father-in-law to the duke D'Enghien, was killed in a naval engagement on the coast of Tuscany; and cardinal Mazarin refused to confer the employments held by the deceased admiral on the duke D'Enghien, though solicited by him and the prince his father.

The discontent this excited in the duke was the original source, though not the epocha, of his rupture with the cardinal: the only revenge the young prince took, at the moment, was by reaping fresh laurels, and, by the service he did the state, acquiring a new claim to the honors and emoluments that had been refused.

The season advanced, and the army of the duke D'Enghien was exhausted with fatigue, and reduced to ten thousand men; yet the intrepidity of that prince did not forsake him; he determined to besiege Dunkirk, a conquest as difficult as it was important, but his plans, like his actions, always wore the stamp of his daring genius. Decisive in his resolves, his first care was to open himself a road by passing several canals which the enemy guarded, whom he drove back as far as the corps of the marquis de Caracène, who was entrusted with the defence of those parts. Had not a bridge accidentally given way the duke would have completely defeated that corps: under this disadvantage, he forced the Spanish general to retreat as far as Neuport, fell upon his rear-guard and seized on nine flags, some artillery, and the whole of the baggage. In consequence of this movement the town of Furnes was left defenceless, and taken in a couple of hours by the prince. The post was of the highest importance to the projected siege of Dunkirk; it laid all the roads

leading to that place open, and the duke called a council of war. The general opinion at first inclined to prefer the siege of Menin; but the prince, whose determination was fixed, by the force and eloquence of his reasoning soon turned the scale in favor of his own plan. He did not, however, think himself authorized to undertake an enterprize of this importance, without the express permission of the court. He therefore dispatched La Moussaye for orders, and in his absence made preparations that no time might be lost. At the same time he sent count de Tourville, his first gentleman, to the Hague, to prevail on the states general to declare for France. He likewise secured fifteen French frigates to blockade the port during the siege, in junction with admiral van Tromp, if the Dutch should decide in favor of France. As the camp which the duke proposed to occupy in the downs, before Dunkirk afforded no kind of provisions for his army, that prince ordered Champlâtreux to build ovens at Berghes, and even at Calais, and determined to form magazines at Furnes; but as that place was totally defenceless he immediately projected its fortification, and perhaps was the first warrior who conceived the astonishing plan of fortifying one place in the space of a few days, to procure the means of besieging another.

The works were planned by the duke, who su-

perintended the labors of the infantry; the cavalry was employed in the transport of the necessary timber; the forage was collected by detachments, and stowed by the peasantry in waggons that were conducted along the canals, to Furnes. This place, at first destitute of fortifications or provisions, in a fortnight was in a condition to sustain a siege, and supply an army. These preparations soon became useful. Tourville was successful; La Moussaye brought the permission of the court; and every thing was disposed for an immediate siege. On the morrow Dunkirk was attacked by land and sea; the marquis van Leede, an experienced officer, commanded in the place; the duke de Lorraine was encamped on the frontiers of Holland; Beck and Piccolomini were stationed under Dendermonde; Caracène and Lambois under Neuport.

The first care of the duke was to guard his camp from attack; but a moving sand, a high and continual wind, rain, inundations, and marshes, which reached even the camp, incessantly obstructed the works, which the prince raised for his personal safety, or which he wished to direct against the place. His genius, fertile in expedients, and the activity of his troops, overcame these obstacles; but a much greater misfortune overtook them; the provisions were long in coming, and the diseases, which began to break

out in the army, seemed to leave the duke no other means of success than that of bringing the siege to a conclusion by the vigor of his attacks. It was not till the night of the 24th to the 25th of September that he could open the trenches. On the morrow, Noirmoutier attacked a redoubt, which the besieged occupied beyond their intrenchment: they made a vigorous resistance; the French carried the redoubt; the enemy returned to the charge, but, after four infructuous attacks, which cost much blood, they were forced to retire. The duke D'Enghien pressed them hard on every side, and each day was marked by a battle; but the cool experience of the marquis van Leede incessantly opposed new difficulties to the indefatigable activity of the duke. The Spaniards wished to collect their forces to attack that prince in his camp, which effectively would have been the only means of saving Dunkirk; but the strong entrenchments by which the duke was guarded, and the diversion which the prince of Orange was preparing to make, induced them to abandoned the project. They then directed their views on Furnes, which they thought to take by surprise; but, when they found that place required a formal siege, they were again obliged to change their plan.

On learning the approach of the Spaniards, the duke D'Enghien ordered a corps under command

of La Ferté-Senecterre to join him, and continued to carry on the works with vigor. On the night of the 1st of October, he ordered Laval to attack the counterscarp of the bastion, and Nourmoutier that of the hornwork. Both these attacks were successful; but Laval received a wound, of which he died a few days after in the arms of the duke D'Enghien, by whom his loss was deeply felt. The governor, far from being discouraged by the advantages the besiegers gained, only redoubled his efforts, and found new resources; the French however gained ground, lodgements were made, and the moats began to be nearly filled. Piccolomini made an attack on the quarters of Gassion; he met a vigorous repulse, and the success of the enterprise seemed no longer doubtful.

The duke D'Enghien, who has been so strongly accused of shedding blood, here, as at Thionville, was the first to propose a negotiation to the governor, who sent a distinguished officer to that prince. The duke convinced the officer of the inutility of making longer resistance; van Leede, however, blinded by the promises of the Spaniards, and misled by his personal courage, at first hesitated; but the force of argument, his exhausted resources, the distance of the Spaniards, and the desire to save the garrison, at length made that commander offer to surrender, if succours did not arrive within fifteen days: the duke thought

this delay too long, and limited it to three ; that term being expired, December 11, the city gates were thrown open to the French, and the garrison was suffered to depart with the honors of war. It was stipulated, in the capitulation, that the prisoners on each side should be returned; the *maréchal de Gassion* did not send all his prisoners to the *marquis van Leede*, as it had been agreed ; and the keen, but just, reproaches which the prince made that officer on the occasion, brought them to open variance. *Mazarin*, who had long endeavoured to make *Gassion* discontented with the duke, fomented this growing dissension so artfully, that those two warriors, who had been united by mutual esteem, soon came to a complete rupture.

In the same campaign the duke *D'Enghien*, by a manœuvre as daring as it was skilful, succeeded in throwing provisions into *Courtrai*, in sight of the army of the duke de *Lorraine* and *Piccolomini*, who contented themselves with attempting to harass his rear-guard ; and were vigorously repulsed by the *marquis de la Ferté-Imbault*, by whom it was commanded. The enemy, being unable to oppose this important manœuvre, prepared to attack the duke on his return ; but his courage, and the order he preserved on his march, awed them into inaction. The glorious termination of this campaign increased the popularity of

the prince, and the queen, on his return to court, affected to receive him with the most flattering distinction.

The hero, perhaps, is never so truly happy as when he can divest himself of his laurels in the arms of a father, by whom he is tenderly beloved. The duke D'Enghien enjoyed this sweet satisfaction; but it was of short duration. Henry de Bourbon, second of the name, third prince of Condé, died at Paris, December 25, that same year. This prince had always maintained a high influence in the state, less by his military talents than his rank and power. The vicissitudes he had experienced ought rather to be attributed to circumstances than to his character. His judgment was good, his understanding agreeable and solid; he had prudence and capacity, but more especially moderation; which, had he longer survived, would have spared France many evils. Worthy of his grandfather, greater than his father, and excelled by his son, this prince is less celebrated, from the very circumstance which most entitles him to our esteem: he formed a hero by whom he was surpassed.

On the death of Henry, the duke D'Enghien succeeded to the titles of first prince of the blood, chief of the council of the regency, grand master of France, and governor of the provinces of Burgundy and Berry. From that time, he assumed the

title of prince. The first step he took in council was to exert himself in behalf of the count D'Harcourt, whom government wished to oppress, and the maréchal de la Motte, who had already been disgraced, because these noblemen had been each unsuccessful at the head of the army in Catalonia. The cardinal offered the command of that army to the prince, with the assurance of affording him every aid, which depended on him; but the friends of the latter, who justly dreaded the artful policy of Mazarin, advised the prince to decline the offer: Condé, however, too much familiarized with conquest to foresee the possibility of a reverse of fortune, and too frank to believe that others were insincere, thought it his duty to accept it, and soon had cause to repent. On his arrival at Barcelona, he found neither artillery, money, nor magazines; and he then perceived, but too late, that he had been deceived. He exerted himself with the purveyors of the army, to endeavour to supply what was wanting, and soon thought himself in a condition to undertake a siege with success.

Effectively, May 27, he opened the trenches before Lérida, to the sound of violins; it is pretended by some authors, that in those times this was not uncustomary in Spain; but it does not injure a great man to acknowledge his errors. The young prince, whom fortune had hitherto

always favoured, was, no doubt, misled on this occasion by a little too much presumption; had the siege been successful, the violins, as well in history as in the trenches, would have been superfluous. Having exhausted every expedient, the fatigue of the troops, the nature of the ground, and the obstinate resistance of André Britt, who commanded in the place, made the prince determine, June 17, to raise the siege. This determination cost him much; and perhaps the self-victory he then obtained, was not the least glorious of his triumphs. The sequel of this campaign was less unfortunate. The prince seized on the town, and gained some advantages over the Spaniards, which would have been more decisive but for the dissention which arose between M. de Broglie and D'Arnaud at the camp of Bel-puth.

The prince, who had proceeded with the vanguard, charged those commanders to join him with the rest of the army, on the first summons: the command was given, but they did not march, because they disagreed concerning the road they should take. In all ages the contention of individuals has frequently occasioned public loss or calamity. At the end of the campaign the prince returned to Barcelona, where he learned the dangerous illness of the king and the duke D'Anjou. This intelligence nearly concerned the

prince, for the event which might probably take place would leave only one step between himself and the throne. Fearing lest a demonstration of jealous anxiety for lives so precious might suffer invidious misinterpretation, Condé proceeded but slowly to Fontainbleau, notwithstanding the queen, who wished to form a party to counter-balance the too great power of the duke D'Orléans, sent repeated dispatches to hasten his return. The speedy recovery of the prince, however, silenced the alarms, projects, and cabals of the court.

The prince, on his return, could not forbear to express his dissatisfaction to the cardinal at the treatment he had received. Mazarin had recourse to new protestations of attachment and respect; and left Condé the choice of the army he was to command the ensuing campaign. The prince pacified by these demonstrations of humility, was persuaded to overlook the past: but the nation, less indulgent, never forgave Mazarin for having thus exposed a prince of the blood, and his army.

1648. The be-
ginning of
the Fronde

The oppressive measures of the cardinal, and the exactions of his minion, the superintendant, Emery, soon excited general discontent. The nation groaned beneath the weight of taxes, parliament grew turbulent, and the nobility murmured. The cardinal, secure of the support of

the duke D'Orléans and the prince, at first disdained these rising commotions; but the cabals augmented, the league of the Fronde was formed, and the famous arrêt D'Union passed; the cardinal took alarm, betrayed weakness, and only increased the evil; the public mind grew inflamed, the fire spread, and the conflagration became general. The prince, in concert with the duke D'Orleans, made every exertion to pacify the disaffected, and to prevent greater troubles; but his military duty called him from court, and he marched to the frontiers of Picardy at the head of an army, thirty thousand strong.

Condé determined to open the campaign by the siege of Ypres, a place very difficult of approach. After misleading the archduke with respect to his plan, he invested Ypres, May 13th, by the most skilful manœuvre and well-concerted march. On the 16th, the archduke encamped in the vicinity of the besiegers, made various unsuccessful attacks on their quarters; and at length marched to Courtrai, of which he took possession in open day. The cardinal, without previously informing the prince, and in contradiction to his advice, had sent orders to Palluau, who was governor of that town, to conduct a great part of the garrison to the siege of Ypres which occasioned the loss of Courtrai. This is one of the many examples which ought to convince every minister

in Europe, that in time of war nothing is more dangerous or adverse to the success of their troops, than dispatching military orders without the concurrence of their respective generals.

After this expedition the archduke returned to the siege of Ypres; but, far from being able, as he had flattered himself, to relieve that place, he only came to witness its capture. The prince having taken possession of Ypres, did not think it prudent to attack the archduke, who intrenched in the camp of Warneton. Condé now directed his views on Dixmude, but the orders of the court forced him to renounce this project, to support Rantzau in his attempt on Ostend which proved infructuous. The wants of the army, which was utterly destitute, were supplied by the prince, at his own expence: the archduke received daily reinforcements, and entered Picardy; but Condé obliged that prince to quickly fall back and shelter himself in maritime Flanders.

The prince went for a few days to Paris to consult with the queen, after which he returned to Flanders. Four thousand Veymariens, under command of the count D'Erlach, were ordered to join his army, to whom this reinforcement was very necessary; but their junction, owing to the position of the troops, was very difficult. The prince considered how to overcome this impediment, without neglecting matters of equal impor-

tance. By these skilful manœuvres, and well regulated marches, he effected the junction, and at the same time guarded Ypres and Dunkirk, which the enemy seemed to threaten. The archduke decamped; the prince pursued and joined him in the plain of Lens. The French army, fourteen thousand strong, with eighteen pieces of cannon, entered this famous plain, August 19, at break of day. During the night the town of Lens had surrendered to the archduke, who determined, in consequence, to change the position he had occupied the preceding day, and improve it by making the town support his right: his centre troops were stationed in hamlets, fenced with hedges and ditches, and his left wing commanded a height very difficult of approach. The daring intrepidity of the prince, hitherto had surmounted every obstacle, but, on this occasion, he proved that it was not by these means alone that he could secure victory. The archduke was at the gates of Picardy: France were lost should the army of the prince be defeated; its success alone could save her; to combat, therefore, became a duty; to conquer an imperious necessity. This important consideration did not escape the prince, and his plan was immediately formed. Far from exposing his troops by attacking the enemy in so advantageous a position, he only thought how to draw him into the plain; he engaged in skir-

mishes, and fired cannon, hoping the archduke would mistake prudence for timidity, and quit his position to attempt a victory which appeared so easy: but Leopold was too well acquainted with the daring impetuosity of the prince, not to flatter himself that the ardor of Condé would finally over-rule his prudence; and, being in this persuasion, he would not lose any of his advantages. This excess of precaution nearly drove the prince beyond all patience, yet he did not suffer himself to be discouraged. Finding the archduke was not to be allured by these artifices, Condé thought he could only force that general to quit his position by leaving his own, and taking a retrograde march. This was a dangerous measure, and consequently seemed to require the shelter of night; but the intention of the prince was not to secure his retreat, but to engage the archduke to pursue him, and it was therefore absolutely necessary that the enemy should perceive his motions. He consequently determined to retire by day light, and began his march on the 20th at dawn. This manœuvre had the desired effect. When the enemy perceived the march of the prince, general Beck put the Lorraine cavalry in motion to fall upon his rear-guard. Condé, delighted at the success of his manœuvre, stationed his troops on a height which he perceived, entrusted his left wing to Grammont, took charge

of the right, and ordered Châtillon, who led the cavalry to support the rear-guard. Noirmoutier, by whom it was commanded, had been repulsed ; but Châtillon, at the head of the guards, made a vigorous onset, and put the enemy to rout ; they rallied, and in turn fell upon the guards, who were forced to yield to the impetuosity of this second attack. Condé rallied his troops, and endeavoured to inspire them with that intrepidity which never forsook him, even in the most critical moments ; but, when they returned to the charge, they were seized with a sudden panic ; all fled in confusion, and France had no resource but in the talents of her general the mischief was soon repaired. The prince overtook the fugitives at the foot of the hill, again rallied them, and confronted the enemy. Beck halted ; he waited for the archduke, who seeing the advantage that general had gained, was advancing with the army to make the victory decisive. A momentary calm and repose succeeded to the tumult and fatigue of the first onset. The prince employed this short interval in reinforcing those parts where he proposed to make the greatest efforts. His position was very critical, yet he did not despair of finally being victorious, and he determined to fall upon the archduke's army, which his manœuvre had drawn into the plain. He harangued his soldiers, and renu-

merated the battles of Rocroi, Friburg, and Norlingue. These famous names, the commanding aspect of him by whom they had been immortalized, his manly eloquence, and his dignified, yet animated countenance, instantly restored confidence, courage, and alacrity. The hope to conquer is a great step toward victory. The artillery begins the onset with the greatest success; the prince advances at the head of the first line of the cavalry; Leopold awaits him; the armies meet; the combatants mingle; on each side miracles of valor are atchieved; the advantages are balanced; the prince is seen every where; two of his pages are killed by his side; nothing escapes his vigilance; he commands, attacks, and rallies; at length, impatient to see the victory decided, he orders the reserve, led by D'Erlach, to advance, and places himself at its head; these proud Veymariens, trained by the Great Condé to conquest fall on the Lorrains with an impetuosity which puts them to total rout, and decides the victory. The left wing had fought with equal success, and the enemy having taken the same direction in their flight, the prince and Grammont, who had followed in pursuit, met; their joy equalled their surprise; they flew to each other's embrace with that effusion of soul, which elevation of mind, and the urgency of the moment, rendered enthu-

siastic. The prince only tore himself from the arms of his friend to hasten, where glory still demanded his presence.

As the archduke and his cavalry made a direct retreat to Douai, Condé gave orders to invest the town of Lens, and returned immediately to the field of battle, where the infantry was still engaged with the enemy. The French guards had carried every thing before them; but their ardor led them too far, and they would have been cut to pieces if the cavalry and the guards of the prince had not come to their succour. At the same time the whole of the infantry fell upon that of Lorraine, which made a courageous resistance. The discharge of the artillery, added to the difficulty of seeing and hearing, amid tumult and crouds of smoke and dust, but more especially, perhaps, that instinct which leads men to cling together in times of imminent danger, had caused the lines of the enemy to close; so that the whole of the Spanish infantry formed one single battalion, which seemed impenetrable.

The prince charged Desroches, the lieutenant of his guards, to attempt to penetrate and divide that vast mass, the strength and resistance of which still rendered victory doubtful. Desroches acquitted himself with equal courage and intelligence; he made so vigorous an attack that he overset a part of this powerful battalion; the rest seeing the

ranks broken, and having neither cavalry nor generals, laid down their arms, asked for quarter, and fell at the conqueror's feet.

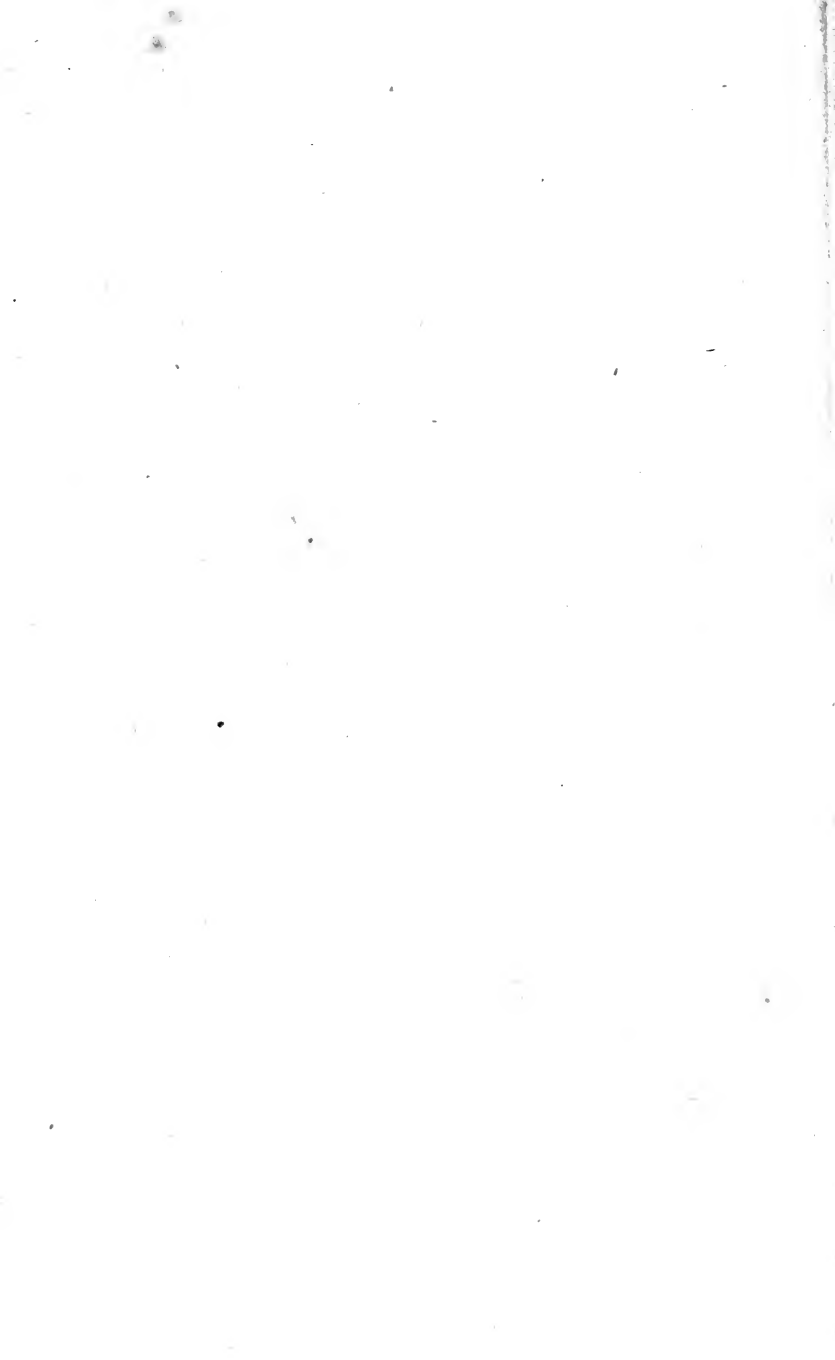
Condé, whose presence of mind did not forsake him in moments of the greatest tumult, soon put a stop to the carnage; and, having insured success, returned with transport to his natural clemency. This celebrated day, the most important perhaps in the reign of Louis XIV. cost France only five hundred men. The loss of the enemy amounted to ten thousand privates, eight hundred officers, a hundred and twenty flags, or standards, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and the whole of their baggage. General Beck, who commanded under the archduke, met a similar fate to that which overtook Fuentes at Rocroi, and Mercy at Norlingue. The Great Condé seemed not only destined to vanquish, but to annihilate the most formidable enemies of France; in less than two hours he destroyed an army, and saved an empire! Such was the triumph of this hero!

A victory, as decisive as it was unexpected, naturally seemed to lead to the conquest of the Low Countries; but the violence of the internal fermentation of the kingdom, determined the queen to order the prince to close the campaign. Condé, however, before he obeyed these orders, thought he ought to seize on Furnes. He charged the *maréchal de Rantzau* with this siege; but that com-

mander not acquitting himself to the satisfaction of the prince, Condé went thither in person, and in the trenches received a musket shot which occasioned a violent contusion in his hip; the presence of this general induced the town immediately to surrender.

These important services claimed a distinguished recompense, and fully authorized the letters patent that were issued in December, 1648; by these the country of the Clermontois was conferred upon the prince by the most honourable titles; to be held by him and his successors with all the extensive and well-established privileges; a recompense equally worthy the acceptance of the prince, and the gratitude of a powerful monarch.

END OF BOOK I.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF THE GREAT CONDÉ.

BOOK II.

ON his return to court the prince was met there by his sister, the dutchess de Longueville, who equally captivated the eye and the heart by the loveliness of her person and the fascination of her understanding. This princess, on whom nature had lavished every gift, to the misfortune of France, and by an extraordinary fatality, suffered herself to be governed by persons of much inferior ability while she acquired a high degree of ascendancy over the Great Condé, the only man of her time, perhaps, by whom in the nature of things she ought to have been influenced.

When the prince appeared in the capital he was courted by all parties; but at first his intention was to preserve an equal balance between the

court and the faction. He became mediator between the queen and the Fronde, and persuaded that princess to negotiate with parliament, and issue that famous declaration, which for a time seemed to pacify all discontents.

At that period the boundless ambition displayed by the Abbé de la Rivière gave rise to a contention which excited indignant surprise, as well in the court as the city. That minion, so cherished by, though injurious to Gaston, had the audacity to dispute the cardinal's hat with the prince of Conti, who, only sixteen years of age, had borne away the palm at the Sorbonne; and who to his illustrious birth united every requisite for the ecclesiastical state, which the weakness of his constitution had determined his father, the late prince of Condé, to make him embrace. The Great Condé, offended at this concurrence, supported his brother's pretensions with the dignity and warmth which were natural to him, and which his near relationship and the equity of his cause justified. Gaston, after venting menaces and making fruitless attempts in his minion's behalf, was obliged to yield. The entrance of the prince of Conti into the ecclesiastical career was brilliant, yet he could not determine to proceed; and consulting his courage more than his character, and his inclination more than his powers, he soon gave up the richest benefices to follow the profession of arms. The

example of his brother was seductive, he wished to tread in his steps, and always lingered far behind.

It was not long before the flames of sedition, which had been smothered awhile, again broke out and blazed with contagious violence. Each faction renewed their efforts to draw over the prince to their side. The dangerous eloquence of the celebrated prelate, who was proud to bear the name of the modern Cataline, was lost on the Great Condé, who neither suffered the solicitations of the malcontents, the seductions of his sister, his friendship for the duke de Châtillon, nor resentment for his personal injuries to swerve him from his duty. The constant answer he returned is well known; "My name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will not weaken the power of the crown."

The queen, on her part, had recourse to tears and intreaties to draw Condé to her party: the young king embraced that prince, and besought him to secure *the safety of the state, and of his royal person*. Misfortune humanizes the great: the voice of duty alone determined the prince to take part with a court on which he placed no dependence; but his impetuous character soon took umbrage at the obstacles which the Fronde incessantly opposed to his good intentions. He

showed too little forbearance to the parliament ; he proposed decisive but violent measures.

The plan of Condé was to bring the army to the gates of the capital, to seize on the arsenal, to place cannon in battery facing the principal streets, and in that state of things to summon the chief of the Fronde to quit the city. There is no doubt but the court would have obtained all they wished from fear, without being obliged to put the menace in execution ; but Le Tellier proposed to blockade this great city, and reduce it by famine. Tardy measures are always preferred by the weak. The queen adopted this plan without hesitation, and the prince was obliged, with only from seven to eight thousand men, without money, or magazines, and in the heart of winter, to undertake this arduous enterprize, which demanded so many preparations and resources.

On the night of the 5th of January, all the royal family, the dutchess de Longueville excepted, left Paris, and repaired to Saint-Germain. The Great Condé, the saviour and idol of the nation, for a time became an object of hatred and terror to the Parisians : they raised troops ; the young prince of Conti, seduced by his sister, threw himself into Paris, and was declared generalissimo of the Fronde. The prince grieved and indignant at the conduct of his brother, whose talents however gave him little uneasiness, exerted

his whole powers for the success of the important enterprize he had undertaken. He established posts on all the high roads and on the banks of the Seine; he took possession of Pontoise, Saint-Cloud, Meudon, Montlhery, Corbeil, Langny, Charenton, Vincennes, and Saint-Denis, and by these means intercepted most of the convoys which were designed to enter Paris. Want of time, however, would not suffer him to seize on all the requisite places, and he was even obliged to evacuate some of those he had judged it necessary to secure, among which was Charenton, which the Parisians entered as conquerors when they learned it was no longer defended. This apparent success emboldened the rebels, and the duke de Beaufort sallied out of Paris at the head of six thousand men to seize on Corbeil, and open, by this means, the passage of the Seine.

The prince, being informed of this project, marched with a small force to the mill of Charenton, and those formidable warriors immediately turned back: his impatience, rather perhaps than necessity, determined the great Condé to carry Charenton, defended by Clausen, by storm. During the night of the 7th of February till the following morning, he made his arrangements and charged the duke de Châtillon with this attack. Fifteen thousand Parisians, headed by a

priest*, sallied from their walls, and arranged themselves in order of battle between the Place Royale and Picpus; but this was the first and only effort of courage shewn by that multitude; who, thinking themselves an army, spoke of nothing but their glory, yet shrunk at the aspect of danger. At break of day, Châtillon began his attack: Clausen made a vigorous resistance, but, notwithstanding his courage, Boutteville penetrated into the entrenchment; he was followed by the whole of the troops, who forced the barricades, and the post was soon taken. This advantage cost the nation dear; more than a hundred officers were killed; the brave Clausen was of the number, and the duke de Châtillon perished in the arms of victory.

The Parisian army seeing its presence had not been able to save Charenton, took care not to expose its valor by attempting to retake the place; and re-entered Paris amid the hisses, reproaches, and insults of a whole people, indignant at the cowardice of their defenders. The prince was too much grieved at the death of his friend, to exult in the success of his enterprize; his affliction for the loss was so great that it threatened to endanger his health, but the necessity of attending to his important avocations, though it did not stifle his

* The coadjutor.

sorrow, prevented him from sinking under its weight. He sent detachments to seize on Briecomte-Robert, and some other posts, which were still occupied by the Frondeurs. Wherever his troops appeared, ridicule and disgrace overtook his enemies; but these trifling advantages were not decisive. The Frondeurs, convinced by repeated ill-success, that rebels are not always soldiers, made new efforts to acquire defenders; they multiplied their cabals within the city, and their intrigues without; their exertions gained ground, and sedition spread in every part. The parliament of the provinces began to league with that of Paris. The duke de Longueville, who had retired to his government of Normandy, declared for the Fronde, and put himself in march with an army of ten thousand men; another was raised by the duke de la Trémouille; the viscount de Turenne caused that which he commanded in Alsatia to declare against the court. The royal authority was on the point of being overwhelmed by its foes; the orders of the queen, the letters of the king, the intrigues of Mazarin, the money he distributed, and all the expedients that minister employed, were insufficient to dissipate the storm.

The court now felt that it had no resource except in the ascendancy which the Great Condé, by his courage and numerous victories, had ac-

quired over the minds of the defenders of the state, who were now become its terror. The prince was requested to employ his whole influence, and to make them sensible of the enormity of their guilt. Condé exerted himself with zeal; he wrote Longueville halted on his march, la Trémouille desisted from his hostile preparations, and Turenne was abandoned, obliged to retire into a foreign country, and forced to implore the protection of the very prince, who by a single word had deprived him of an army: that prince, who always gave merit his support, generously exerted himself in the behalf of Turenne, who, beside his pardon, obtained considerable favors from the court.

The expectations of the Fronde being thus baffled, that party finding it must finally sink under the efforts of the prince, who employed every resource of genius for its destruction, grew weary of the war. The queen, on her part, alarmed by the approach of the Spaniards, who had been invited by the coadjutor, introduced into the heart of the kingdom, and guided by his emissaries, was willing to listen to peace. Negotiations were opened; each party yielded to necessity, and the treaty of Saint-Germain, which neither diminished the power of the minister nor the dangerous influence of the Fronde, was signed through the medium of the prince.

The cessation of hostilities had made no change in the public feeling, her majesty therefore did not risk bringing the king to Paris, neither did the cardinal venture to return. Condé was aware that he too had incurred the hatred of the Parisians, but he thought his glory required him to brave that odium. He returned to the capital alone, in his carriage. On his appearance, the same populace, who had invoked maledictions on his head, and whom he had not only reduced to the horrors of famine, but threatened with pillage and death, forgot he had been the author of their sufferings, and only recognized the hero who bore the august name of Bourbon. All the nobility assembled to pay homage to the great Condé, parliament sent him a deputation, and the rebels he had vanquished seemed to hail him as their deliverer. This tribute of veneration gave umbrage to the cardinal, whose suspicious jealousy never suffered him to be grateful, and his envious policy induced that minister to offer the prince the command of the army of the Low Countries; but this offer Condé thought proper to reject.

As soon as the treaty of peace was signed, the dowager princess of Condé reconciled her children, and it was from that period the dutchess de Longueville acquired the fatal ascendancy over her illustrious brother, which we before mentioned. At the instigation of that princess, Condé threat-

ened to withdraw his support from the ministry, unless the cardinal broke off the projected union of his niece with the duke de Mercoeur; and, first taking leave of the court at Compiègne, retired to his government in Burgundy.

The army of the Low Countries, under command of the count D'Harcourt, was unsuccessful. After raising the siege of Cambray, the Veymariens declared they would only serve France under the order of the prince, or M. de Turenne. The false steps of government, the ill success of its arms, the failure of its negotiations, the removal of the court to Compiègne, the contempt and hatred, which the character and administration of the cardinal excited, but more especially, perhaps, the gloomy state of the public mind, in those times of turbulence and confusion, rekindled the flames of sedition. The court took alarm, and negotiated the return of Condé to the capital. That prince, who was at Dijon, being informed of the just apprehensions of the queen, quitted his government, hastened to Paris, took the necessary measures to facilitate the return of the court, and urged her majesty to bring the young king back to the capital, pledging his head for the safety of the cardinal. This advice was followed, and Condé conducted the queen and her minister to the Palais-Royal, amidst the acclamations of the people. At the moment, her ma-

jeisty seemed to feel the importance of this service ; but gratitude soon became a burthen to that weak princess, and her ambitious minister. The merit of the prince in this instance had been the greater, because he had foreseen the ingratitude he experienced. Effectively, from that time, Mazarin formed the project to lower the too great power of a prince, who, to use the expression of cardinal Retz, had saved him from the gibbet ; he endeavoured to make him obnoxious to all parties, and spread incessant snares for that great man. It is with difficulty suspicion can enter an elevated mind and an equitable heart. Condé was repeatedly deceived by Mazarin, before he came to a decisive rupture with that minister. It was the following circumstance which occasioned their first quarrel. The prince solicited the government of Pont de l'Arche in favor of the duke de Longueville, to whom it was promised ; but afterward this promise was retracted. Condé, indignant at this treatment, joined the duke D'Orléans ; the Fronde courted his support, and the cardinal trembled. The prince was averse to countenance a faction ; la Rivière thought it prudent not to carry matters to a greater length, and Gaston proposed himself as mediator between the prince and Mazarin. Condé accepted the offer with alacrity ; the negociation was successful, the prince dictated his conditions, the cardinal sub-

scribed implicitly, and a reconciliation took place. All the chiefs of the Fronde, Gondi excepted, declaimed against the Great Condé, and, attentive to their interest, took care to excite the public animosity against a powerful prince, who appeared to league with a detested minister : but the cardinal had only assumed the mask of friendship, that he might aim more decisive blows at the hero of whom he stood in awe. Eagerly seizing every opportunity to injure the prince, at his solicitation, Mazarin granted the honors of the Louvre to the prince de Marsillac. At the same time he fomented the discontent of the noblesse, who murmured at this measure, tolerated their assemblies, and exulted in having, by his intrigues, raised a contention, which might prove very troublesome to the man whose ruin he wished ; but the body of the noblesse, feeling its power, soon talked of forcing the court to convoke the states general.

Mazarin, supple and cringing of character, through life preferred humiliation to danger, and immediately determined to disperse, instead of braving the storm. He revoked all the privileges which had given umbrage to the noblesse, and succeeded in dissolving the assembly, by removing the cause which had provoked the nobles to assemble. Notwithstanding the failure of this intrigue, the cardinal still determined to accom-

plish the ruin of the prince, at any cost: to detach the latter from a faction by which he might become still more formidable, Mazarin caused it to be insinuated to the prince, that his life was sought by the Fronde. In connivance with the cardinal, La Boullaye, one of those miscreants who in times of tumult sell their services to the highest bidder, stopped the empty carriage of the prince on the Pont-Neuf, fired a few pistol-shots, and took refuge in the hotel of the duke de Beaufort. The sole object of Mazarin was to effect an irreconcilable breach between the prince and the faction; for it had never been the intention of that minister to realize this assassination; this unnecessary crime was foreign to his heart; but he availed himself of the contrivance to decry the Fronde, and render that faction odious.

All France congratulated the prince on his having escaped danger so imminent: Condé appealed for justice to parliament, and his suspicions fell upon the coadjutor, who asserted his innocence with an eloquence which was the more persuasive, as, on this occasion, it was founded in truth. The adventure of Jarzai,* whom the prince countenanced, and the marriage of the duke de Richelieu, which was displeasing to the

* The prince, it is not very well known why, induced the marquis de Jarzai to make a tender declaration to the queen, and took umbrage at the just displeasure that princess conceived.

(Note of the Parisian Editor.)

court, and which Condé had favored, entirely ruined him in the opinion of the queen. Mazarin discolored all his actions, and made a crime even of his victories; he secretly leagued with the Fronde, to ensure the success of his project, and redoubled his duplicity toward the prince. The dutchess de Chevreuse appeared on the scene, and became the soul of these intrigues; the duke D'Orléans was detached from the prince, and Condé received intimations on every side that his personal liberty was in danger; but the obliging demeanor of the queen, the protestations of Mazarin, his own exalted rank, every thing in short contributed to make him incredulous; he treated these warnings with contempt, and fell at length into the perfidious snare, which had been so artfully spread.

On Monday, January 18, the prince went to the Palais-Royal as usual, at the hour of council; he had scarcely entered the gallery in which the members assemble, when Guitaut, captain of the queen's guard, approached, and informed Condé in a low voice, that he had orders to arrest his highness, as well as the prince of Conti and the duke de Longueville. The prince exclaimed in amazement: "This then is the reward of my services!" He however made no resistance, but asked to see the queen, who refused his request, and suffered Guitaut to lead him through a file of guards and soldiers, to whom he said as he passed—"My

friends, this is not the *plain of Lens!*" This speech either must be heard in silence or occasion a revolt: the loyalty of the soldiers prevailed over their attachment to the prince. It was necessary to pass a dark entry: "Guitaut," said the prince, without stopping, "this is a good resemblance of the States of Blois." "Fear nothing, my lord," answered Guitaut, "I should not have undertaken such a charge." When they reached the passage of the Palais-Royal, which leads into the rue de Richelieu, Guitaut delivered the princes into the custody of Moissens, and informed them they were to be conducted to Vincennes. The carriage broke down on the road, Condé, who was the most active man of his time, watched his opportunity and escaped; by leaping a ditch, he would have secured his flight, but, before he could effect this, he was overtaken by one of the guards, who, with a pistol at his breast, obliged him to return.

On their arrival, nothing was ready for the reception of prisoners of that exalted rank; there were neither beds, furniture, nor supper. The prince eat a couple of eggs, threw himself on straw, and slept twelve hours without interruption. When he rose he endeavoured to console and amuse his companions in misfortune. The prince of Conti, who, had no resource but that of devotion, asked for the *imitation of Jesus Christ*: Condé, more thoughtful for the present

than the future, called for the *imitation of M. de Beaufort*, who had found means to escape from that very prison. The prince was deeply affected by the treatment he experienced, yet his fortitude and equanimity did not forsake him, and his conversation and wit still retained all their charms. His frank and easy manners endeared him to all who approached his person: Comminges, a man of sense and understanding, whose business it was to guard the prince, was moved even to tears when he was obliged to quit his prisoner: the Great Condé was so complete a master of the art of attaching men, that captivity with him seemed preferable to freedom, when deprived of his society. De Bar, however, who was the successor of Comminges, was a man insensible to every thing but the advancement of his fortune; far from pursuing the conduct of his predecessor, he endeavoured to make the captivity of the prince more insupportable, by depriving his illustrious prisoner of those consolations which are the only resource of the unfortunate; he tried even to suggest the most serious apprehensions for the future: but the fortitude of that great man could not be shaken.

On the arrest of the Great Condé the Parisians, misled by the Fronde, gave a loose to the most indecent joy: the queen, wishing to justify this arbitrary measure, published a long manifesto, which contained accusations so vague and destitute of proof, that it produced exactly the contrary effect

to that which was intended. Mazarin, on his part, went even so far as to dismiss all the officers and domestics of the prince, seize on their money and papers, and send their furniture to be sold by auction. This excess of injustice and audacity, at length excited universal indignation, and the Great Condé, who hitherto had only possessed friends, was soon to find avengers.

Boutteville and the count de Tavannes were the first who rose in arms ; they raised troops in Burgundy, and in the beginning had some success, but they were soon forced to submit to those of the king, and to give up Bellegarde, into which they had thrown themselves. The defenceless condition in which most of the towns belonging to the prince were found, offered incontestible proof of the falsity of the imputations, with which the cardinal endeavoured to blacken that great man : his possessions were easily taken : the Clermontois and the town of Bourges fell into the hands of the court ; and Stenai and Montrond, in Berry, were soon the only towns which remained to the prince.

The dukes de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld endeavoured to excite the provinces beyond the Loire to revolt, in favor of Condé. A part of the noblesse prepared to take arms, in behalf of the princes. Intrigues and cabals multiplied, which is almost the inevitable effect of excess of injustice.

The young princess of Condé and her step-mother had retired to Chantilly with the duke D'Enghien. The cardinal, not liking their vicinity to the capital, ordered them to withdraw to Montrond, and at the same time stationed troops in the environs of Chantilly. The princesses being informed of this by Blanchefort, one of their gentlemen, feared, and not without cause, that it was intended to secure their persons, seize on Montrond, and detain them prisoners; however, by following the advice of Lainé, a counsellor of state, and one of the most zealous partizans of the prince, they found means to deceive the Sieur du Vouldy, a gentleman, who was to execute the orders of the queen. The princess dowager gained time, under the pretext that her age and health would not admit of her immediately undertaking so long a journey, and that she was going to write to the duke D'Orléans. The young princess, who was ill in bed, rose; Mlle. Gerbier, one of the maids of honor, took her place, and pretended to be her royal mistress; and a gardener's son passed for the duke D'Enghien. Under favor of this disguise, by which du Vouldy was for some days deceived, the young princess was enabled to make the necessary preparations to escape with her son, a child of seven years old, whom she dressed in girl's clothes.

That this project might not be prematurely

discovered, on Monday, April 11, toward the evening, a coach and pair, in which harness for four more horses was hidden, was sent out, as if for exercise. Some time after, four horses were taken out, under pretence of leading them to water. The place of general rendezvous was at the entrance of the forest of Chantilly, on the border of the common. The princess, her son, and her ladies, repaired thither on foot, by a place called *le Jardin de Bukan* *, under the escort of two gentlemen, who were ordered, should they be attacked, to fly with the young prince into the thick of the forest. The small troop traversed the wood without meeting any obstacle, and proceeded on their way to the Louvre: the gentlemen and Lainé, attended by some domestics, took the side which is now the high road. The princess and her suite entered Paris by different ways, without the court having the least idea of what was passing; the company joined at the gate Saint-Victor, and, by the dexterity of Lainé, who directed the whole, after many alarms and dangers, the consort of Condé safely reached Montrond on Thursday the 14, at midnight.

The princess dowager undertook to be watchful of the prince's interest at Paris, and to endeavour to move the people in their behalf. She pre-

* A very ancient building between the gardens and village of Chantilly.

sented a petition to parliament, April 27, but the cardinal and the Fronde knew how to render it of no avail. The duke de la Rochefoucauld then raised the standard of revolt; and the duke de Bouillon followed his example. The princess and her son escaped from Montrond, which was blockaded by the count de Saint-Agnan, traversed several provinces, remained eight days at Turenne, and, after many negotiations, entered Bordeaux, May 31, with her young son: they were saluted by the discharge of the city cannon, that of the forts, and that of four vessels, which were in the harbor, and hailed by the acclamations and blessings of an immense populace, who strewed flowers as they passed.

The next day the princess holding her young son by the hand, and drowned in tears, presented her petition to parliament: the young prince cried, "Gentlemen, do you be to me as a father; Mazarin has robbed me of mine." The moving spectacle of supplicating grandeur, oppressed innocence, and weeping beauty, produced the most lively affect. The magistrates, who had been not less divided in opinion than in their intentions, were now united by sympathy; and, for once, sensibility was seen to dictate a decree in the temple of justice. The princess, almost immediately, obtained an arrêt in favor of the illustrious prisoners.

When Mazarin was informed of what was passing in the capital of Guyenne, he hastened with his army to make that town repent of its proceedings; and as usual endeavoured to sow dissention, in which he partly succeeded. The partizans of the prince, however, gained the advantage, and the inhabitants of Bordeaux determined to sustain a siege with vigor. Condé, in prison, was informed by his surgeon of the exertions his wife was making in his behalf; he happened, at that time, to be watering some flowers, which they had allowed him to cultivate. That great prince was passionately desirous to regain his freedom, but he placed little dependance on the exertions of a woman, and this intelligence did not take him from his occupation; nevertheless, struck by the singularity of the event, he said to the surgeon, "Sir, would you ever have expected to see me watering a garden while my wife was making war?"

The obstinate resistance of the inhabitants of Bordeaux astonished Mazarin, and soon forced that minister to listen to overtures of peace. Deputies were sent by the parliament of Paris, to offer the mediation of that body, which was joyfully accepted by all parties, and peace was soon concluded, under the most advantageous terms for the friends of the princes: the princess, and her son, had permission to retire to Montrond.

This apparent calm was far from securing the tranquility of the kingdom; the release of the princes was the only step by which it could be re-established. Turenne, whom the charms of the dutchess de Longueville had drawn over to her party, still kept on the offensive, and entered into negociations with the archduke; he prevailed on the Spanish court to appear interested in the cause, which he so warmly espoused. The archduke, however, whose interest it was rather to prolong the war than facilitate peace, refused to take the only step which could force the French government to yield to these combined efforts. Turenne penetrated into the views of that prince, and determined to act alone: he seized on a part of Champagne, and defeated the corps of the marquis D'Hocquincourt. It was then proposed to Condé to purchase his release, by consenting to let his brother, the prince of Conti, espouse a niece of the cardinal's; but this proposal was rejected with disdain.

The friends and partizans of the princes did not a moment neglect their interest, but the thing first necessary was to free them from the degrading confinement in which they were held by Mazarin. Gourville, whose name alone recalls every idea of zeal, intelligence, and activity, had succeeded in bribing the guards of the illustrious prisoners; the time was appointed, the signal

agreed on, and the horses were ordered ; but the project failed, owing to the conscientious scruples of a gentleman, who revealed the whole to his confessor. This attempt, and the fear that others would be made, determined the court to transfer the princes to the Château de Marcoussy. Shortly after the illustrious prisoners were a second time on the point of recovering their liberty, by the exertions of the duke de Nemours ; every thing was prepared for their evasion, when an order came for their removal to Hâvre-de-Grace. The count de Harcourt was the person chosen to accompany them on the route, and it was on this occasion the Great Condé, whose gaiety never deserted him, wrote this well-known song :

Cet homme, gros et court,
Si fameux dans l'histoire,
Ce grand Comte D'Harcourt
Tout rayonnant de gloire,
Qui secourut Casal et qui reprit Turin,
Est maintenant Recors de Jules Mazarin.*

The failure of so many projects, and so many infructuous attempts, made the princess dowager lose all hope that her children should regain their liberty ; she fell sick, and September 2, of the

* That man so short, of bulk so round,
Harcourt in hist'ry's page renown'd,
Who sav'd Cassel, retook Turin,
Is tipstaff now to Mazarin !

same year, sunk under the weight of her affliction. The queen ordered distinguished funeral honors to be paid that princess, who bore to the grave the universal regret her virtues claimed.

Anne de Gonzague, known by the name of the princess palatine, because her first husband was a prince palatine, now placed herself at the head of the partizans of the princes, entirely instigated by the esteem which the high qualities of the Great Condé had inspired; she succeeded in gaining over the Fronde, by having Gondi in her interest, Mazarin left Paris, to join the army of the *maréchal du Plessis-Praslin*. By the zealous exertions of the first president, a petition of the princess, and a letter written by the princes, were laid before the parliament, which began to take efficacious steps toward their release. In the mean while, Turenne was beaten at Rhétel, and his army dispersed by the *maréchal du Plessis-Praslin* the cardinal being present. This intelligence spread consternation in Paris, where all parties had joined to effect the release of the princes. The coadjutor, however, revived their drooping spirits; by dint of intrigue, artifice, and activity, he succeeded in augmenting the general indignation against the cardinal, and in making that minister odious and contemptible in the eyes of the people. This proves that persons, who have sufficient energy or artifice, may govern public opinion.

The cardinal, who notwithstanding his military success, had been hanged in effigy, returned to Paris, where he had several secret but infructuous interviews with the duke de la Rochefoucauld, one of the most zealous partisans of the prince. The forcible remonstrances, which parliament made in behalf of the princes, had more effect; and the queen promised to set the illustrious prisoners at liberty. The duke D'Orléans went to the Palais, and declared that he joined his voice to that of parliament, to obtain the freedom of his cousins; and this step threw the court into the greatest consternation. The queen summoned Gaston to her presence; that prince, however, notwithstanding the remonstrance of parliament, did not obey the command; fearing he might experience the fate of the captive princes. The noblesse assembled and unanimously demanded their liberty: Mazarin, totally abandoned, at length quitted Paris; and, by an edict of parliament, was ordered to quit the kingdom. The queen was obliged to yield to these united efforts, and she signed the release of the princes; but wrote at the same time to inform the cardinal that he was at liberty to act as he thought proper.

Deputies were appointed to announce their deliverance to the illustrious prisoners. In the interim it was suspected, and not without founda-

tion, that her majesty wished to quit Paris with the young king; and in consequence of this suspicion, the Palais-Royal was invested, and the queen detained against her will. Mazarin, finding affairs were desperate, hastened to reach Hâvre before the deputies of the court, that he might bring the first intelligence of their deliverance to the princes.

The cardinal arrived at Hâvre, February 13, repaired to the prison of the princes, whom he informed that they were free; begged them to forget the past, and solicited their friendship. Condé received Mazarin with politeness, but with his accustomed dignity: on the departure of the prince, the cardinal humbled himself so far as to fall at his feet and kiss his boot: Condé, disgusted at this excess of meanness, only said: "Good day to your eminence." The prince returned in three days to Paris, by the way of Rouen, Pontoise, and Saint-Denis, where he was complimented on her majesty's part by that very Guittaut who had been employed when he was arrested. The duke D'Orléans, and the chiefs of the Fronde, advanced to meet the Great Condé as far as the chapel, and conducted him to the Palais-Royal, amid the acclamations of that very multitude who had made public rejoicings on his arrest. The interview was cold, and the conversation brief. From thence Condé repaired to the

Luxembourg, where the most brilliant festival awaited him; and where the different orders of the state were assembled, eager to see the prince and congratulate him on his return. The same day the prince visited the duke de Nemours, and the princess palatine by whom he had been so effectually served, and did not withdraw till late; and on the following day he returned thanks to parliament for their zealous exertions in his behalf. The queen reinstated Condé in his fortune, charges, and governments, and made him the most ample atonement, by publishing his innocence in a manifesto, sent to parliament, March 27, and registered with acclamation. This body issued a new arrêt against Mazarin, which went so far as to exclude all cardinals from the councils of the king.

Condé was now at the climax of grandeur; cherished by the noblesse, respected by the parliament, supported by the Fronde, adored by the people, and feared by the court, the prince felt, but did not abuse, the extent of his power: Mazarin, on the contrary, hated, banished, ridiculed, and almost annihilated by the voice of the nation, though absent, maintained his authority, and, in the gulph of ignominy into which he had fallen, again formed the audacious project to raise himself by dint of intrigue on the ruins of the hero, whose virtues and grandeur weighed him to the earth.

The dutchess de Longueville, who had only evaded captivity by escaping first to Dieppe, then to Rotterdam, and afterward to Stenai, returned to Paris, and prevailed on her brother to break off the union between the prince de Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse. The rupture of this alliance, in which the prince had been engaged to co-operate to draw the Fronde into his interest, deprived Condé of their support, as well as that of the coadjutor, their chief, and the soul of every intrigue, who was much attached to madame de Chevreuse and her daughter; the latter especially.

The prince obtained the government of Guyenne, in exchange for that of Burgundy, and following the dictates of inclination and gratitude, solicited favors in behalf of his friends, whose important services justified his zealous exertions. This honorable conduct was represented as criminal, by the invisible, yet all-powerful Mazarin, who secretly triumphed at seeing the Fronde detached from his most formidable enemy, and labored with increased ardor to effect the ruin of the Great Condé. The demands of the prince were refused, and he was aware from whence the refusal originated; his friends, no doubt too exigent, accused him of ingratitude, and he was abandoned by several. Unable to conceal the deep affliction he felt, the prince made complaints

against the cardinal, and laid open that minister's intrigues to parliament.

The return of Mazarin was the object most important to her majesty, who felt increased dislike to the prince; and, to his prejudice, and at the cardinal's instigation, lowered herself so far as to solicit the support of Gondi, who had hitherto been the most formidable enemy of the royal authority. From that time, the conduct of the court prepared the prince for the storm which was lowering over his head. On the night of the 5th of July, as he was retiring to rest, Condé was informed that troops had been seen filing on the side of his hotel, and that there was not a moment to lose in securing his personal safety. The prince immediately escaped, in company with two gentlemen, through the gate Saint-Michel, struck at first into the road of Fleuri and Meudon, and the next day reached Saint-Maur by indirect ways: he was immediately joined by the prince de Conti, the dutchess de Longueville, and the most illustrious of his friends. M. de Turenne followed a few days after. Condé took that general apart, and walked above two hours alone with him in the park: in this conference the prince employed all his eloquence, and used every means that might secure the viscount in his interest, but without success; Turenne would enter into no positive engagement.

The retreat of the prince made a deep sensation in the capital, and notwithstanding the artifices of the Fronde and the court, and the troubles which were anticipated, every body thought the prince justified in having secured his personal safety. The late example was too recent not to be decisive, and the prince retained too lively a resentment of his captivity to hazard meeting a second insult of that nature. "I was the most innocent of men when I entered that fatal prison," said he to the celebrated Bossuet, "but I own that when I left it I was the most culpable."

The prince soon formed a brilliant court at Saint-Maur; and to raise suspicion in the partisans he daily acquired, the queen wished to enter into a negociation with him, and sent the maréchal de Grammont to prevail on Condé to return to Paris. The prince perceived and eluded the snare; he gave audience to the maréchal in the presence of his whole court, and replied aloud, that "he had been too often deceived by the queen, and that he would continue in his retreat till the minions and secret agents of the cardinal should be dismissed from the ministry and the court." He sent his brother to parliament with a letter, in which he explained the motives of his conduct, and requested the aid of that assembly to affect the total removal of the three ministers devoted to the cardinal. After

some hesitation, parliament granted the request of the prince, and the queen promised to dismiss the ministers Le Tellier, Servien, and de Lyonne, but on condition that they should not be named in the manifesto which was to banish all the friends of the cardinal. The prince, on the contrary, insisted on their names being inserted: parliament was displeased, and urged him, but without success, to return to the Palais-Royal. This conduct of the Great Condé, which was calculated to deprive him of many partisans, can only be explained by supposing, that he had already determined to rise against the court, and only sought a pretext to rebel: the moment for action, however, was not yet come.

Condé left Saint-Maur, and returned to Paris, taking care always to be followed by a numerous retinue. The queen announced it was her intention to place the most determined enemies of the prince in the ministry, among whom we are obliged, with regret, to rank the celebrated Molé, whose name alone would render the conduct of the prince doubtful, allowing that conduct even to have been excusable. It must, however, be acknowledged that the remarkable faults and virtue of men are frequently nothing more than the effect of the circumstances under which accident has placed them, and the contrast of the characters which are put in action. The prince,

in the situation of Molé, would, like him, have centered his ambition in proving himself the most virtuous of magistrates and of citizens: Molé, in that of the prince, no doubt would have preferred being esteemed the most sage and loyal of subjects to being called the most haughty of princes; and perhaps posterity would then have unjustly consigned them both to oblivion.

The prince stood on the brink of a precipice; how could he save himself when all conspired to hurry him headlong down? His own heart would have furnished him with patience against the resentment which his injuries excited, had not he been invariably governed by the violent counsels of his sister, the fascinating dutchess de Longueville, who was the idol of the dukes de Nemours, de Bouillon, and de la Rochefoucauld, by whom the Great Condé had been zealously served; but he too implicitly yielded to that confidence and affection in which the heart delights to indulge, with relations and friends whose attachment we have proved. Friendship blinded the Great Condé; he would have spared himself and France much suffering, had he but suspected it was possible that the zeal of his friends might be influenced by their individual interests. Might not the dutchess de Longueville wish to free herself, at any cost, from the authority of a husband she hated, and of whom she stood in awe? The duke

de Nemours, though the friend of the prince, was his competitor in the affections of the dutchess de Châtillon, and the desire to remove a rival so dangerous might possibly influence the counsel of that nobleman. The duke de Bouillon was burning to regain possession of Sedan, which he could only accomplish by means of a civil war, and the duke de la Rochefoucauld was entirely governed by the dutchess de Longueville. *

These considerations ought certainly to have put the prince on his guard ; but, incapable himself of giving pernicious counsel, he judged no less

* Voltaire says, the duke de la Rochefoucauld, remembering the dutchess de Longueville, when he received a wound, at the battle of Saint-Antoine, which for some time deprived him of sight repeated the following lines.

Pour mériter son cœur pour plaire à ses beaux yeux.
J'ai fait la guerre aux Rois ; je l'aurais faite aux Dieux.

To win her heart, those beautiful eyes to charm,
With kings I've war'd ; nay, Heav'n should have defied.

These verses are taken from a tragedy by du Ryer : the duke de la Rochefoucauld wrote them beneath a portrait of the dutchess de Longueville, but afterward discovering that she deceived him, he thus parodied the two lines :

Pour mériter son cœur, qu'enfin je connois mieux
J'ai fait la guerre aux Rois ; j'en ai perdu les yeux.

To win her heart, which since I've better prov'd,
With kings I war'd ; for her I lost my sight.

(*Voltaire's History of the Age of Louis XIV.*)

favorably of his friends, and suffered himself to be swayed by their advice. Sillery was sent to Brussels, to treat with the Spaniards, and those proud enemies of France, notwithstanding the weak condition to which they had been reduced, by the hero who was compelled to implore their assistance, promised, without hesitation, succours of every kind. Fuensaldagne, with whom negotiation was opened, pretended to grant every thing ; but instead of contributing to quell, he fomented the intestine troubles of France.

END OF BOOK II.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF THE GREAT CONDÉ.

BOOK III.

THE prince still remained at Paris, but sent his consort, his son, and his sister, to Montrond: he repaired to parliament, obtained a new arrêt, favorable to himself, against Mazarin, and that minister's partizans; and, in compliance with the request of that assembly, went to the Palais-Royal, where he met so cold a reception that he did not repeat the visit. The queen determined to publish a violent manifesto against the prince, which she read aloud in the presence of the princes, the noblesse, and the assembled corps; it should seem it was this violent measure that confirmed the prince in the intention to kindle a civil war. He appeared in parliament, produced a paper, written by Gaston, who supported his

cause, confuted the accusations alledged against him, article by article, and named the coadjutor as the author of the manifesto published by the queen.

The debates were adjourned to Monday, August 21. On that day Gondi, with the concurrence of the queen, filled the Palais with troops, and prepared to attack the suite of the prince. The latter, who was not ignorant of these hostile preparations, went to the Palais, accompanied by the prince de Conti, the most illustrious of the nobility, and more than eight hundred gentlemen. Some angry words were interchanged between the prince and the coadjutor, after which a confused noise was heard in the Palais; the signal of approaching tumult, and the most obstinate contest. Molé recalled the prince to his wonted dignity, by invoking the manes of Saint-Louis, and prevailed on him to order the duke de la Rochefoucauld to make his friends withdraw. Gondi was obliged to go in person to dismiss his followers, but, on seeing him appear, they thought it was the signal of attack; the two parties put their hands to their swords; Gondi was so terrified that he attempted to escape into the great hall, but the duke de la Rochefoucauld had the presence of mind to shut the door of the *Parquet des Huissiers* before he could pass, seize him by the collar, and close the bar: several poignards

were pointed at his throat, but la Rouchefoucauld would not stain himself with murder. Champlâtreux, a member of parliament, took compassion on the prelate, whom he disengaged; the magistrates expostulated, and the two parties retired to their respective homes. The queen, deaf to remonstrance, and governed by the fears of the creatures of Mazarin, intended to forbid the two chiefs to take their seats in parliament; but Molé, always patriotic and just, expostulated with her majesty, remarking that to place them upon this equality would be contrary to etiquette and justice, and that she could not legally exclude a prince of the blood, whose rank marked his place, from parliament. The coadjutor alone was ordered not to appear.

On the morrow, parliament issued a declaration strongly in favor of the prince.* Some days after the latter meeting the coadjutor at the head of a procession, alighted from his carriage, and threw himself on his knees to receive his benediction. The great always gain popularity by these external demonstrations of devotion: the prelate, without betraying embarrassment, bestowed his benediction on the prince; but this singular scene, after that which had passed at the Palais-Royal, reminded the populace of the violence the coadjutor had committed; they loaded him with

* See the end of the Memoirs.

insults, and would have proceed to greater lengths, had not the prince sent his attendants to the assistance of the prelate.

Louis XIV. had attained the age of majority ; Condé receiving intimation that he would be arrested if he assisted at the ceremony, which, on that occasion was to take place, did not think proper to attend, and retired to the estate of Trie, belonging to the duke de Longueville. He endeavoured to draw that nobleman into his party, as the whole of Normandy, in that case, would declare in his favor ; but the duke refused to join his faction, less from a sense of duty than from personal interest. The court made an attempt to secure the person of Condé as he was on the road to Pontoise ; but the prince had the good fortune to escape this ambuscade. It was here that Condé, a prey to his reflexions, withheld by the recollection of his past victories, grieved to quit the residence of Chantilly, to which he was attached, still more afflicted to leave the dutchess de Châtillon, and wavering between loyalty and religion, was offered the throne of Naples ; but he was not dazzled by the offer. Without making a merit of this sacrifice, he wrote to the duke D'Orléans to propose terms of accommodation ; but they were rejected by the queen, who then admitted Molé, Châteauneuf, and la Vieuville, the most determined enemies of Condé, into

the ministry, and ordered the duke D'Aumont to cut the corps of troops belonging to the prince in pieces. This corps, however, was saved by a most skilful manœuvre of Tavannes, and conducted by that officer to Stenai; but the violent measures of the queen, and the sanguinary orders she had issued, were the true beginning of the civil war.

The conduct of the prince, on this occasion, proves, that he did not decide on breaking into actual revolt, till he had been driven to extremities: on leaving Chantilly where he was in danger of being surrounded by the king's troops, he sent a new plan of accommodation to the duke D'Orléan's, requesting that prince to dispatch the answer he should receive within four and twenty hours to Augerville, at the house of the president Perrot, as the fear of being taken would not allow him to make a longer abode at that place. Gaston received a favorable answer, but, instead of immediately dispatching the courier, he waited till the next day, by the advice of the coadjutor, and the messenger was sent to Angerville*; from this mistake, whether it were intentional or simply the effect of chance, all the misfortunes of the prince arose.

Alarmed at receiving no answer, and his health not allowing him to delay, Condé determined to

* See the Translator's Preface.

go to Bourges : his plan was formed, it only remained to be put in execution ; he nevertheless again fell into indecision, which seemed contrary to his interest, but which he was desirous to prolong. The queen proposed to him to remain peaceably in his government of Guyenne, till the states-general should be assembled. The prince would have agreed to this proposal had he only consulted his inclination, but his dangerous friends, more especially the dutchess de Longueville, put a finishing stroke to their pernicious policy, by prevailing on Condé to refuse. He went to Bordeaux, where he was received with enthusiasm, made a hasty levy of ten or twelve thousand troops, and seized on the money of the royal receipts. The prince de Conti took the same measures in Berry, and the Bourbonnais. The duke de Bouillon and Turenne, on whom Condé had bestowed considerable favors on having received their positive promise to join him, after several suspicious delays, refused to declare in his favor. M. de Bouillon offered himself as mediator between the princes and the court ; but the prince rejected all mediation, and the court sent troops to carry war into Guyenne, under command of the count D'Harcourt. Bourges surrendered to the king, as did the prince de Conti. The dutchess de Longueville and the duke de Nemours retired to Bordeaux ; the king

sent a manifesto against the rebel princes, and their adherents, to parliament; that assembly had before signalized their zeal against them, without, however, naming the prince. In fifteen days he made himself master of Guyenne, L'Angoumois, Périgord, and Saintonges; and by the exertions of the duke de la Rochefoucauld, he would have taken possession of Coignac, on the Charente, had not that river overflowed, washed away the bridges, and separated his quarters, over one of which count D'Harcourt obtained an advantage. La Rochelle, which had declared for the prince, surrendered to the king's troops. D'Harcourt marched to Tonnay-Charente, whither the prince had retired after the check at Coignac, and obliged him to repass the Charente. The negligence of a general officer, whom Condé had ordered to burn the bridge behind him, had nearly occasioned the total defeat of his army; but his intrepidity, and the wisdom of his arrangements disconcerted those of the count D'Harcourt, and enabled Marsin to join the prince with a reinforcement from Catalonia. At the same time Condé received some succours from Spain, of troops, ammunition, and money; but this was a poor compensation for the reverses he experienced in the capital. Gaston deserted his cause, parliament declared against him, his party daily grew weaker, and the ruin of the prince

would have been inevitable, had not the bad state of his affairs persuaded the queen she might with safety recal Mazarin. In consequence of this project, the prince not only recovered most of the partisans he had lost, but obtained many others.

Mazarin returned to Paris, and the parliament, who had issued the most violent manifestos against that minister, nay, had set a price on his head, acting with reprehensible lightness, declared the prince, who had only taken arms to prevent the cardinal's return, guilty of leze-majesty. The duke D'Orléans, as usual, wavered from side to side; the indignation of parliament was excited, and the partisans of Condé eagerly seized this opportunity to obtain a decree in his favor. Mazarin repaired to the court, then at Poitiers, where he was received by the king with marked distinction. On receiving intimation that the court had emissaries at Bordeaux, the prince marched toward that city with a few troops, leaving the rest under command of the prince de Tarente and the count de Doignon. The count D'Harcourt followed in pursuit; but his tardy movements enabled Condé to gain, without being harassed, Bergerac and Libourne, which he fortified.

The party of the king was reinforced on every side; the prince, however, was not discouraged: his genius and talents were always fertile in re-

source. On his way to join the prince of Conti, at Stafford*, he surprised the marquis de Saint-Leu, and obtained a considerable advantage over the corps commanded by that nobleman: he pursued his cavalry to the very gates of Montauban, a town filled with partisans. Condé, who suffered nothing to escape him, wrote to determine the inhabitants to declare in his favor. Those men, however, so dangerous under the preceding reigns, those subjects who had so often been rebellious, proved, on that occasion, that their attachment to their religion was the only sentiment which could overbalance their loyalty; they haughtily rejected the offers of the prince, and he returned before Miradoux, whither the remainder of the detachment of Saint-Leu had retired. After a vigorous attack, and a resistance equally determined, the approach of the count D'Harcourt obliged the prince to cross the Garonne; the count D'Harcourt followed close, and forced him to retreat to Agen. The inhabitants of that place prepared to oppose his troops, but the prince harangued them with so much eloquence and amenity that he succeeded in appeasing the citizens, and established his quarters in the town.

Bordeaux became the scene of faction; the charms and levity of the dutchess de Lon-

* See Translator's Preface.

gueville sowed division between the prince de Conti, the duke de Nemours, and the duke de la Rochefoucauld, and the interests of the greatest of princes were involved by, and sacrificed to, female coquetry.

In Paris, however, they were warmly supported at that time; Gaston had again changed his opinion, and declared for the prince; he levied an army, but the means he proposed for its maintainance were ill-judged, and parliament would not adopt them. The count de Fiesque and the count de Jaucourt took this opportunity and induced him to sign a treaty of union with the prince. The duke de Nemours began his march with the troops of Stenai, and some Spanish regiments; but he had not all the success which had been expected, owing to his wish to visit the dutchess de Châtillon at Paris. The duke de Rohan-Chabot, governor of Anjou, who lay under obligation to the prince, declared in his favor. The troops of the king besieged and took possession of Angers; Orléans shut its gates against both parties; but Mademoiselle, the daughter of Gaston, found the means to gain admission, and induced that town to declare against the king. The duke de Beaufort, and the brave Sirot, were beaten at Gergeau, by the viscount de Turenne, who commanded the royal army. A rupture took place between the duke de Nemours and the duke de

Beaufort, his colleague, which determined the prince to quit Guyenne and take the command of the troops which those noblemen headed. Condé leaving his affairs in Guyenne to the management of his brother, whom he instructed in what manner to act, left Agen, at noon, accompanied only by the duke de la Rochefoucauld, three or four noblemen of his party, and a single valet de chambre, trusting to fortune and his courage. He was joined by two or three zealous partisans on the road, and the company in all consisted of ten persons. The prince was disguised as a courier, under the name of Motteville. The dangers he had to encounter were great; that he might avoid being discovered, for the royal troops were dispersed through all parts in search of him, and could with difficulty be avoided; he was beside in want of horses: Condé, however, surmounted these obstacles, and safely rejoined his army in the environs of Lorris, where his presence was very necessary, for dissention, disorder, and discouragement, universally prevailed among the troops. The return of this great man, however, instantly restored order, unanimity, and courage. The prince was received by the soldiers with enthusiastic love and veneration; the Great Condé, while he yielded to the exquisite emotion such moments create, always knew how to avail himself of their enthusiasm. He marched to Mon-

targis, on which he seized ; and likewise took Château-Gaillard. The prince, understanding that the royal troops were dispersed in cantonments, made an onset with his cavalry on that of the maréchal D'Hocquincourt, at Bleneau ; seized on his artillery and baggage, and pursued him as far as the gates of Auxerre. Condé then rejoined his army to march to Briare, where M. de Turenne was stationed. If the prince, on this occasion, had met with the success he might reasonably have expected, all contest would have been at end ; the king, the court, and the whole kingdom, would have been in his power : but this enterprize, which was the best concerted of the whole war, failed, owing to the great talents of M. de Turenne, and the good fortune of Mazarin ; and robbed Condé of the criminal and dangerous honor of having vanquished his sovereign.

The partisans of Condé, at Paris, urged his return to that city, to awe the parliament, keep the cardinal de Retz within bounds, and fix the wavering opinion of the duke D'Orléans. The prince did not sufficiently feel that a Condé alone could successfully oppose Turenne ; he suffered himself to be persuaded, and proceeded to Paris. Gaston advanced to receive him at Jouvigny, with serenity on his brow, and cordiality on his lips ; but he was inwardly preyed upon by jealousy

and distrust. The prince, notwithstanding the intrigues of cardinal de Retz, entered Paris April 11.

On the following day, in despite of the proscription issued against him, and only recollecting that which had been passed on Mazarin, Condé went to resume his place in parliament. Bailleul, who presided in the absence of Molé, openly complained of this step; but his objections were unanimously overborne. — Condé justified himself with no less energy than eloquence; and the order, which parliament received from the court, to annul all that had been decreed against Mazarin, biassed the general opinion in favor of the prince: the intrigues of cardinal de Retz, however, subjected the latter to vexations at the *Chambre-des-Comptes*, the *Cour-des-Aides*, and from the populace. He felt that his situation was truly critical; the volatility of the public made it equally dangerous for the prince to return to his army or to remain at Paris; to proceed in his negotiations with Spain, or to propose an accommodation with the court. How pitiable is the fate of those who lead a faction. Having once swerved from their duty, every step they take involves them deeper in error!

The several deputies of the sovereign courts and communities assembled at the *hôtel de Ville*;

Gaston harangued them with becoming dignity ; and the Great Condé promised to join his army to that of the king, as soon as Mazarin should have obeyed the voice of the nation, by leaving the kingdom. That assembly voted that a petition of remonstrance should be presented to his majesty ; in the mean while, Tavannes seized on Etampes ; M. de Turenne encamped at Chartres ; the court was transferred to Saint-Germain-en-Laye ; negotiations were opened for peace, but they failed, owing to the ill-faith of Chavigny, one of the negociators on the part of the prince. Others were opened ; the prince made the most peremptory demands, to which the court was on the point of yielding, but objections were started by the duke de Bouillon ; the negociation lingered ; the duke D'Orléans was acted upon ; in short, it was again broken off. The cardinal de Retz, on his part, redoubled his intrigues ; he circulated the most satirical and injurious libels against the prince, by whom they were read with contempt. A gentleman came to Paris to assassinate cardinal de Retz ; the prince, to whom the plot was known, sent for the person, and ordered him to leave the city within twelve hours, under pain of death. It was proposed to the prince to seize on the cardinal when he was unarmed ; and Condé rejected the offer. A new negotiation was opened with as little success as the former.

That which the dutchess de Châtillon undertook was equally infructuous, though the prince, more than ever enslaved by her charms, gave that lady unreserved powers, and more extensive, perhaps, than prudence could justify.

Mademoiselle, on her return from Orléans, which she had brought over to the faction of the princes, presented herself to their army, where she was received with all the homage of French gallantry, and those testimonies of esteem due to her courage. It is remarkable that, on this occasion, a title of honor was conferred on madame de Fiesque and madame de Frontenac, who accompanied Mademoiselle on this expedition, of which, I believe, neither ancient nor modern history afford another example: these ladies were received as *maréchaux-de-camp*, at the head of the army.

While the army of the princes were thus paying homage to Mademoiselle, M. de Turenne availed himself of this opportunity to defeat a considerable corps of those troops, at the gates of Orléans. A fault committed by the maréchal D'Hocquincourt, who had marched at too great a distance from Turenne, might have furnished Tavannes with an opportunity of regaining the lost ground; this opportunity would not have escaped the quick penetration of the prince; but it was overlooked by Tavannes. Mazarin ordered the

royalists to seize on Saint-Cloud : Condé marched to that place with some infantry, three hundred horse, and about ten thousand citizens ; but he had scarcely reached the Bois de Boulogne when he learned that the royalists had retired : wishing then to profit by the enthusiasm of the multitude, he thought he might, with their aid, attempt to seize on Saint-Denis ; but he was abandoned at the first fire, and remained one of seven on the edge of the moat. His example and courage rallied a part of the fugitives, and he entered the town, as victor, by storming the garrison, which had retired into the abbey. The prince, however, did not long keep this conquest. Saint-Denis was attacked and retaken some days after by the royalists : the Parisians had not sufficient courage to make a second attempt to succour this place. M. de Turenne, on his part, undertook the siege of Etampes, where the army of the princes was quartered.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, who possessed all the talents and vices of a politician and a warrior, was invited by Mazarin to come into France. The court removed to Melun. Tavannes, who defended Etampes, made a vigorous resistance ; scarcity began to be felt, but Condé found the means to introduce a convoy into the place, under the command of the count D'Escars. Turenne prevailed on the king to visit the camp, hoping

that his presence would damp the courage of the rebels. Tavannes contrived not to appear to be informed of the king's arrival at Melun. The duke de Lorraine deceived the cardinal, and declared in favor of the princes, who went as far as Bourget, in company with persons of the first quality in Paris, to meet that prince, and returned with him to the capital.

The duke D'Orléans proposed to introduce the duke de Lorraine into parliament, but that assembly would not consent to a step so novel. The duke de Lorraine, presuming no doubt on the service which he appeared to render the party of the princes, disputed the precedency with the Great Condé, who knew how to support his dignity. The gold of Mazarin determined the duke de Lorraine to desert the faction of the princes ; but he insisted, however, that the siege of Etampes should be raised : that prince had scarcely entered into alliance with the court, when he renewed a negociation with the princes, which he again broke, on seeing himself close pressed by Turenne, whom he feared would destroy his army. The public voice, that inflexible judge of the great, rose indignant against a prince who thus trampled on the most sacred engagements. Christina, queen of Sweden, offered to mediate between the two parties ; the princes eagerly ac-

cepted the proposal, but it was refused by the court with disdain.

Scarcity began to be felt in Paris, and the people murmured against the parliament, which they called *Mazarin*; but that assembly would not give them satisfaction, except in a matter of little importance to the public weal; they issued an arrêt, which granted permission to show the relics of Saint-Généviève to the people; they repaired thither in crouds, and the prince thought it politic to assist at this act of devotion, where he displayed all the external marks of the most fervent faith and sincere piety: in consequence of this demeanor, he was loaded with benedictions. I shall not repeat what I before remarked on this subject; all that can be alledged in excuse of the Great Condé, on this occasion, is, that his situation required he should neglect no means to gain popularity; but, perhaps, he never more forcibly felt, than at that moment, how much the part of a rebel, who needs the support of every person, degrades the vast and luminous genius, which, under other circumstances, would have found in itself sufficient resources.

Troops were levied by Mademoiselle in favor of the princes; the nation was desirous of peace; the princes solicited the mediation of parliament, who proposed a negociation, but without success.

The dutchess de Châtillon was not more fortunate ; the queen thinned the frontiers of troops that the princes might be overpowered. She levied a second army, under command of the maréchal de la Ferté ; that of the prince was stationed at Saint-Cloud. Seeing his present position made it impossible that he should resist the two armies of the court, one of which was stationed to attack him, while the other would cut off his retreat, Condé determined to endeavour to gain Charenton, the scite of which appeared more tenable. The unfavorable disposition of the citizens, who had again changed, would not allow him to traverse Paris ; he therefore determined to file along the Faubourgs ; but Turenne followed close, and attacked his rear-guard. The prince ascended the height of Montmartre, to reconnoitre the enemy, and he found that he could not gain Charenton without coming to action : his plan was immediately formed, he halted at Picpus, and determined to defend the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. Two well-disciplined and brave armies, that fought in the view of their sovereign, were in front of the prince ; behind, his only place of retreat, was a city, which closed its gates against him ; such was his position. Never was warrior in a more critical situation !

Turenne, seeing the prince prepare for battle, quickened his march, to make an attack before

the enemy could place his troops in the most advantageous positions; and, the better to cover his other manœuvres, that general engaged in action with only his van-guard. Condé, however, who suffered nothing to escape his penetration, seeing that he was in danger of being defeated before he was able to defend himself, determined to counteract the enemy's motion, by beginning the attack. He advanced with the volunteers, made a vigorous onset, and repulsed the enemy's van-guard as far as the center of the royal army. This sudden attack delayed the manœuvres of Turenne, and enabled the troops of Condé to arrange themselves in the posts he had assigned them: but the enemy had planned several attacks; after having routed the regiments of Languedoc, Valvois, and Langeron, they had penetrated to the market-place of the Faubourg. On hearing this intelligence, the prince returned full speed with his volunteers, placed himself at the head of the regiments of Condé and D'Enghien cavalry, and, braving the fire of the batteries, which lined the streets of the Faubourg, he rushed on the enemy, made dreadful slaughter of the regiments of guards, of Marine and Turenne, drove the gendarmes, and the light horse of the guard, into the plain, took seventeen officers, and five flags; re-established his troops in their posts, and flew to encounter new dangers. On the side of the bar-

rier *du Trône*, the Swiss made an impetuous attack on the regiments of Condé, Burgundy, and Pellerin infantry ; the battle was obstinate, but not decisive. The body guards of the king made a second attack on the right of the Faubourg, defended by Tavannes ; but they were vigorously repulsed. Turenne determined to concentrate the strength of his efforts in attacking the barricade, which fortified the avenue of Charenton, and the regiment of Navailles made so impetuous an onset, that the post was carried. Tavannes, obliged to yield, ordered the Condé infantry to join him ; and, by command of his general, immediately attacked the post which he had lost. The prince, at the same time, endeavoured to pass some houses, that he might fire on the flanks of the enemy, and he placed some pieces of cannon to advantage. He put himself at the head of the regiment of Burgundy, and of that formidable *corps de noblesse*, who always shared his dangers ; he then made so vigorous a charge, that he drove the enemy from the barricade. This attack was the most dreadful of that sanguinary day : Nemours, La Rochefoucauld, Melun, Jarzai, Guitaut, and almost all the friends of the prince, were dangerously wounded. To complete the ill-fortune of the Great Condé, the increasing numbers of the enemy, and the arduous efforts made by the regiment of Picardy, would

not suffer him to keep that important post, the recapture of which had cost so dear to his heart, to his cause, and to the nation.

On his retreat, the prince was informed that the horse of the duke de Beaufort, who had quitted Paris to hasten to his succour, had been killed under him, and that the duke was in danger of being taken. Condé immediately returned; made a second onset, disengaged the duke, and under the very fire of the enemy, formed a second barricade with the waggons, a hundred paces from that of which the royalists had taken possession; but the enemy penetrated by other quarters. Turenne, like a skilful general, had stationed troops between the city and the Faubourg, to envelope the prince; and Mazarin already exulted in the horrible and manifold vengeance he intended to exercise; his hopes were indeed well-founded; and the man whose virtues he most dreaded, the Great Condé, notwithstanding his courageous efforts, would have been cut off in the midst of his glory, had not the presence of mind, zeal, and activity of Mlle. de Montpensier, who was in Paris, gained the advantage over the court faction.

That princess, having vanquished Gaston, the maréchal de l'Hôpital, the corps-de-ville, and the people, by her lively grief, her persuasive eloquence, the abundance of her tears, and the

force of her arguments, repaired to the gate Saint Antoine, which she caused to be opened to the troops of the prince. This important service did not satisfy her enthusiastic zeal; she went to the Bastille, and, exerting that authority which great minds always know how to command in moments of emergency, by her orders and example, obliged the governor to fire on the king's troops. Turenne halted; Mazarin trembled; and a woman, by her daring intrepidity, effected the instantaneous deliverance of a hero and his army!

The return of the Great Condé into Paris had the appearance of a triumph: a vast multitude, enthusiastic in their admiration, crowded the passage of the prince; acclamations filled the air; and that hero, as well in adversity as in prosperity, moved in all the pomp of glory: but this homage, flattering though it was, could not interest his heart. As soon as he perceived Mademoiselle, to whom he was indebted for his safety, Condé hastened to that princess, covered with gore and dust, his hair dishevelled, his armour broken, and his garments pierced. Every thing portrayed the hero, whose more than human efforts had yet been insufficient to vanquish the malice of fortune. Too deeply moved, at that moment, to recollect either his gratitude, his affairs, or his situation, Condé, shedding a torrent of tears, exclaimed, "Oh! Ma-

demoiselle, all my friends have fallen." How consoling is it to humanity, that feelings so honorable to the heart of the hero, should overbalance his most important interests, and the recollection of moments the most terrific.

The prince first provided for the safety of his army, and next indulged his sensibility, by paying the most tender offices to his brave and unfortunate friends; he then hastened to avail himself of the present favorable dispositions of a populace, on the stability of which there was no dependance. His plan was to seize on the person of the cardinal de Retz, and banish that prelate from the city; to depose the *maréchal de l'Hôpital*, the provost of the merchants, and all the persons in office, who were not in his interest, and to substitute his partisans. This authoritative step appeared to Condé absolutely necessary, to oblige the court to offer such terms of accommodation as he could with dignity accept: for it cannot be sufficiently repeated, that the prince, to his honor be it spoken, even when successful, never ceased to wish for peace. He thought, however, that his honor required he should place himself in a situation to secure the safety of his friends, without hazarding his glory.

All was prepared for the execution of his project: his emissaries had been successful in their

intrigues with the populace, whose movements they were to direct. A whisp of straw, by which the partisans of the prince were distinguished, was fixed to their hats : every part resounded with the well-known cry of : “ Long live the princes ! No Mazarin ! ” But the duke D’Orléans and the prince had scarcely left the hôtel-de-Ville, which they had visited to obtain the sufferage of the magistrates, when the scene suddenly changed. The minds of the populace grew inflamed, the crowd augmented, the people forgot the object they had in view ; villainous men led on the multitude ; or more properly speaking the multitude all became villainous. In less than two hours the quarter of la Grève is the theatre of murder and rapine ; all distinction of party is lost ; shrieks and groans fill the air ; the hôtel-de-Ville is in flames ; ruffians, with naked poignards, seek the prince ; terror, consternation, and disorder, every where prevail. Condé offers to go and quell the tumult ; his friends withhold him, certain that his enemies are its instigators. The intrepid princess, to whom the party of the Great Condé owed its safety, undertakes this dangerous commission ; but when she arrives all is calm ; nothing is to be seen but the desolating and sanguinary traces left by the monsters who have perpetrated these horrors. The cardinal de Retz, a prelate as audacious as he was criminal,

was, no doubt, the author of these excesses; yet he had the cunning, or rather the wickedness, to make the just indignation they excited in the capital fall on the prince. From that moment the love and admiration of the people, from which the prince had obtained so much, cooled; and it was fear only that determined the municipal body to depose the persons obnoxious to the prince, and substitute his partisans.

The queen, alarmed at the success of the battle of Saint-Antoine, at length consented to remove cardinal Mazarin, and, after naming other conditions, demanded to treat. The princes, however, made suspicious by experience, answered---“ they should in person pay their homage to the king, as soon as Mazarin should have left the kingdom.” This answer offended her majesty, and, for the time, broke off all negotiation.

Gaston caused himself to be acknowledged lieutenant-general of the kingdom, by parliament, and formed a very extensive council. This arrêt was declared null by the court, and parliament was ordered to transfer its seat to Pontoise. Some of the members obeyed this command: the greatest number, however, remained in the capital, and the division of that tribunal formed two bodies, each of which considered itself as the parliament. In consequence of this, the queen caused it to be proclaimed, that all salaries or re-

venues received from the king should only be paid at the actual residence of his majesty ; and self-interest, which governs the world, made this expédient of greater utility to the plans of the court than its armies, or their victories could have been. The Parisians quitted the city in multitudes, and the Fronde lost many of its partisans. That faction had likewise been diminished by the ostentatious title the duke D'Orléans had assumed, which gave general disgust without producing submission.

The princes were advised to seize on the sovereign authority ; but they rejected the counsel with horror : about that time, the duke de Beaufort and the duke de Nemours fought for precedence in the council, and the latter was killed. A similar dispute arose between the count de Rieux, of the house of Lorraine, and the prince de Tarente, of the house of la Tremouille ; the prince interposed, at which Rieux took offence, and forgot himself so far as to make a menacing gesture to the prince, who gave the count a blow. Rieux drew his sword against his highness, who was unarmed ; the spectators of the scene forced him out of the chamber, and this affair threatened to become very serious. The advocate-general, Talon, being consulted on this occasion, replied, that “ after weighing the insult offered to the blood royal, he could not pronounce a milder sentence

than that of death against the count Rieux, The prince stopped the proceedings, and he did well : he would have done better had he put the count under arrest, and punished his audacity, instead of striking that nobleman ; but the Great Condé, on all occasions, felt he was a gentleman, before he recollected that he was a prince, or a general.

The queen, at length, removed cardinal Mazarin, and this measure occasioned an almost general defection in the party of the princes ; they proposed to negociate, but her majesty answered that submission was now the only choice left them.

Condé found himself reduced to two alternatives ; that of laying down his arms, or of again soliciting succours from Spain ; the ill-faith he had experienced on the part of the court, the fear of delivering up his friends to the vengeance of the queen ; in short, his ill-fortune and his destiny, made him prefer the latter. Fuensaldagne was ordered by the archduke to march with the whole of his troops from the Low Countries, to the aid of the prince ; and the duke de Lorraine entered Champagne. The court was in consternation ; but Mazarin, who governed the kingdom, whether he were at a distance or in the metropolis, arrested the march of the Spaniards by the following stratagem. He induced the queen to write a letter to the duke de Lorraine, informing that

general that she was on the point of being reconciled to the prince, whom she intended to send against the Spaniards; and this letter he played into the hands of Fuensaldagne. The terror with which the name of the Great Condé still inspired the enemies of the state, served France against that hero, and Fuensaldagne retired.

Notwithstanding the obstacles Turenne opposed to their junction, Condé and the duke de Lorraine joined their forces at Ablons, and marched against that general. Turenne was blockaded in his camp at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, but the negligence or ill-faith of the duke de Lorraine relieved the royalists, and the queen, from their embarrassment. On October 4, Turenne found the means to decamp without being molested in his retreat. The Parisians now wished the king to return to his capital: the ill-state of the princes' affairs, the unfavorable disposition of the public, excess of labor, uneasiness, agitation, and chagrin, had injured the Great Condé's health; but he was still formidable in the eye of the court, and the queen dared not return to Paris till he should have quitted that city.

A fresh negociation was opened, but the first article insisted on was, that the prince should consent to the return of Mazarin; to this, however, not even the weakness of his party could induce

him to agree ; he quitted Paris, and took the road to Champagne. The Spaniards, about that time, paid a great mark of deference to the prince, by releasing the duke de Guise, whose freedom they had refused to the potentates of Europe. Independent of the pleasure of obliging, Condé imagined he might gain an illustrious partisan ; but gratitude is burthensome to the generality of men, especially to the great ; and they only think of being grateful when they expect to obtain new favors.

The prince was not in a situation to further serve the duke, and that nobleman did not attach himself to his illustrious benefactor. The Great Condé, far from acquiring, lost partisans daily ; his intimate friends only remained ; their affection was grateful to his heart, but his situation required more powerful support. Fortune, however, did not utterly abandon the prince ; he took possession of Château-Porcien, Rhétel, Mouzon, and of the town of Sainte-Menehould. While he was besieging the foretress of the latter, a gentleman came from the duke D'Orléans to redemand that prince's troops ; but they refused to leave the Great Condé before the conclusion of the siege ; and, on quitting that general, they paid that tribute of attachment and veneration which flows genuine from the heart ; and which, perhaps, is the only advantage rank and power

have not yet been able to usurp over merit, of which it is the exclusive right.

On the return of the court to Paris, the queen published a manifesto, in which the Great Condé was accused of leze-majesty; and it was registered by parliament, which had become submissive after the removal of Mazarin. In the interim, Fuen-saldagne presented Condé with the patent of generalissimo of the Spanish armies, concluded a treaty apparently most advantageous to the princes' interests, and at the same time deprived him of the means of obtaining decisive success, by marching his troops to the Low Countries. The conduct of the duke de Lorraine was suspicious, though the first object of the prince was to put him again in possession of his lost territories. Ligny, Bar-le-Duc, Void, and Commercy, had already submitted to Condé: at Bouillon he made an attempt to seize on Mazarin, but the enterprize failed. The prince de Tarente conducted a force of five or six thousand men, which he had levied at his own expence in the country of Liége, to the Great Condé, who made him commander in chief of his troops. This post of trust had hitherto been held by Tavannes, who now quitted the service of the prince, and retired; but he promised never to serve against that hero, and faithfully kept his word.

The enemies of the prince have accused him of

ingratitude on this occasion ; perhaps they would have been equally severe had he not acknowledged the service the prince de Tarente did him, in the most signal manner. Condé was thrown into a situation truly painful to a generous spirit ; and, perhaps, it would have done greater honor to the heart of Tavannes had that nobleman made a voluntary tender of his post, and forced the prince to owe all to friendship.

Bar-le-Duc was besieged by the royalists, and Condé marched to its succour, but his troops were so undisciplined that he was forced to retreat to Clermont, from whence he had come, and suffer the place to be taken, the capture of which led to that of Barrois, and a part of Champagne. These losses obliged the prince to retire to Stenai ; nearly at the same time he learned the disgrace of cardinal de Retz, and the triumph of Mazarin, who had re-entered Paris, followed by the acclamations of the populace. People of France, alive to sensibility, yet equally fickle, who shall secure your favor ! Highly indeed might your applause be esteemed, if your inconstancy did not render it worthless.

The prince was not discouraged by the success of the cardinal ; he wrote a pressing letter, from Stenai, to don Louis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, to solicit the succour which was always promised, but which had never been effectually

given. The princes' party obtained some advantages over the royalists in Guyenne, and Condé flattered himself that he might recover his lost ground in that province; but his hopes were soon destroyed by the misconduct of his brother, who was so much engrossed with his personal quarrels that he neglected to profit by the discontent which the count D'Harcourt had conceived against the court, and the unprotected state in which that general's retreat in Alsatia had left the army he commanded.

The prince, thus disappointed in his expectations, thought the ill-state of his affairs required he should go in person to Brussels, to solicit the aid of the Spaniards; he therefore determined to take the journey, though he was much indisposed. He left Stenai at the beginning of March, but an attack of the gravel, and a quartain fever, detained him at Namur. There it was that the celebrated question of precedence arose between the prince and the archduke, and that the Great Condé returned an answer no less dignified than rational.* How different was the conduct of those princes! The one, actuated by base envy, sought to profit by the misfortunes of an illustrious fugitive, and to arrogate a precedence which eight hundred years of possession had secured to the French prince; - a usurpation which

* See the end of the Memoirs.

not only France, but all Europe, would have disclaimed; while the other, though fully aware that the assistance of the archduke could alone prevent his party from being overpowered, would rather have sacrificed his personal interest than have degraded his rank, for which he was accountable to his sovereign, however unjust, and his country, however ungrateful. The archduke, at the head of an army, and lord of the country, stipulated to obtain the most absurd and unjust of pretensions; the prince, weighed down by misfortune and bodily pain, having no support but his rank, and the respect which he claimed, dictated an answer, or rather a command, giving the archduke twenty-four hours to take it into consideration, with a threat that he would quit Flanders, should not all be arranged as he wished. What courage and grandeur combined! The victory he gained over the archduke, in the field of battle, was only the act of a hero; but the resistance he opposed to that general, on this occasion, was that of a great man, as well as of a great prince.

Condé, on his recovery, continued his route to Brussels, where he was received with respect and admiration. He had envoys in most of the courts of Europe, where they were placed on a footing with those of electors and reigning princes, who were not monarchs; and his troops were paid by the Spaniards on his simple certificate.

The royal army, commanded by Turenne, penetrated into Champagne ; and the prince, who was retarded by the tedious preparations of the Spaniards, entered Picardy, in July, with twenty-seven thousand troops of various countries. He reached Fousomme, and would have marched to the very capital ; but his plans were always counteracted by jealousy, ignorance, and ill-faith. He was obliged to act in concert with Fuensaldagne, a man who had not sufficient understanding to feel the superiority of Condé's talents ; he was beside too proud to be led, too slow to act with promptitude, and too timid to adopt those daring measures which seem to quicken the pace of time, and which genius alone is able to conceive and execute.

It is difficult to give the reader a just idea of all the prince had to suffer, during this campaign, from the haughtiness of the archduke, to whom he never yielded, and the obstacles which Fuensaldagne continually opposed to his plans. Owing to this perfidious ally, who was more dangerous than an enemy, he several times missed the opportunity of defeating the French army ; and the capture of Rocroi was the only victory which the ill-faith of the Spaniards could not prevent. The post of general in chief, which had been conferred on the prince by the Spanish monarch, seems to give his conduct the appearance of weakness ; it will in fact be alleged that, as a commander, he ought to have

been inflexible, and have punished whoever presumed to disobey : but such is the fatal blindness of the rebel who leagues with the enemies of his country ; he abjures the duty of a subject to impose on himself the yoke of a slave.

The count de Boutteville, afterward so celebrated under the name of the *maréchal de Luxembourg*, after having defended the town of *Bellegarde*, in *Burgundy*, six weeks, against the duke *D'Epernon*, joined the prince in the *Low Countries* with the garrison, for whom he had obtained the most glorious capitulation : he was received by the prince with open arms, and made general of the cavalry. By the capture of that place, *Burgundy* was entirely lost to the prince, who was likewise on the point of losing *Guyenne*. The weakness of the prince de *Conti*, the gallantry of the dutchess de *Longueville*, the dissensions between the brother and sister, the multiplicity of cabals, and the gold of *Mazarin*, which perhaps was the secret spring of all these intrigues, soon made this province submit to the king, notwithstanding the exertions of the princess de *Condé*, and the active fidelity of *Marsin*, *Lenet*,* and the other friends or attendants of the prince. *Marsin*, however, obtained permission to conduct the duke *D'Enghien*, and his mother, to the *Low Countries* ; that princess, whose exertions in be

* See Translator's Preface.

half of her consort had hitherto been so effectual, and who had been actuated by the most touching tenderness and constant fortitude, had lost her health through excess of fatigue and chagrin; and, when she quitted Bordeaux, her influence was entirely eclipsed by that of the dutchess de Longueville, whose beauty, wit, and counsel, had proved no less fatal to her illustrious brother than the sweet simplicity, good sense, and prudent measures of the princess had hitherto been useful. Condé was truly delighted to see his son; but his joy was soon interrupted by the marriage of the prince de Conti with one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarin; a union which equally insulted the blood of the Bourbons and fraternal affection; and at which all Europe was indignant.

The dutchess de Longueville fixed her residence at Moulins, where the advice and example of her aunt, the dutchess de Montmorency, entirely detached her from the world. She became a devotee, and so continued to her death.* The court now had only the prince to subdue; but he was too well aware of Mazarin to trust to his promises; he determined to wait the issue of affairs in the Low Countries.

* That princess one day prevailed on her brother to go to hear father Bourdaloue preach; the preacher kept his audience waiting, and the dutchess fell asleep: as soon as Bourdaloue came, the prince awoke his sister, exclaiming: "Rouse, sister; rouse! The enemy is here!"

That implacable enemy, seeing the prince evaded the snares spread for his destruction, which nevertheless were couched under the most brilliant offers, determined to satiate his hatred and revenge by striking the most horrible blow. I do not speak of the two men who were arrested, tried, and executed in the Low Countries, for attempting the life of the prince, and whom rumour accused Mazarin of having suborned, because no proof could be substantiated against that minister ; I allude to the prosecution which was instituted against the prince, with all the formalities of law, at which the king in person assisted ; and of the famous arrêt of parliament, by which that process was followed, which degraded that great man from the race and name of Bourbon, a name he had rendered so glorious, confiscated his fortune and his dignities, declared his life forfeit, to be taken in any manner his majesty should think proper ; and decreed his posterity fallen from all right of succession to the crown ! A decree so strangely horrible, that a foreigner alone could have conceived the project, without being aware of its absurdity. All the friends of the prince were equally involved in his proscription.

No means were neglected by Mazarin to subdue and overwhelm the Great Condé ; he sent troops to besiege Stenai ; that place surrendered

during the siege of Arras, which the prince had prevailed on the Spaniards to undertake, and of which his talents would have insured the success, had not the incessant obstacles he encountered on the part of Fuensaldagne, occasioned this enterprize, like many others, to fail. Turenne was commander in chief of the royal army. Hocquincourt and La Ferté were on their march to raise this siege. The prince, on being informed of their approach, like a skilful general, was aware that it would be disadvantageous in the extreme to wait for the enemy in the lines, and had proposed to advance to meet the royalists, and to give them battle in the plains of Picardy; but to this Fuensaldagne had objected: the latter, however, too late felt the importance of the advice the prince had given. The three *maréchals* had concerted their march so as to fall together on the besiegers, on the night of the 24th of August. Fortune seemed never to declare against the prince but with reluctance; the *maréchal D'Hocquincourt* was so tardy, that the two other *maréchals*, after having waited for some time, determined to begin the attack without him, lest they should lose the advantage of taking the enemy by surprise. The quarters of Solis and Fuensaldagne were immediately stormed: Hocquincourt, who at length arrived, carried that of the Lorrains. Condé, far from thinking of a retreat, repaired the dis-

order, vigorously repulsed the French, and would have been victorious if the Spaniards had rallied and come to his succour; but their cowardly flight obliged him to retire. He calmly effectuated his retreat across a vast plain; and knew how to awe his enemies by his intrepidity and manœuvres. He reached Cambrai in the evening, surrounded by the prisoners he had taken, and the standards on which he had seized. How many conquerors have been less great in their success than Condé was in adversity!

After taking Quesnoy, Turenne ravaged Hainault; Condé assembled his troops, marched to the succour of that province, and forced the enemy to retire into Picardy. The *maréchal de La Ferté* seized on Clermont, in Argonne.

Queen Christina, a princess more celebrated for her singularity than her virtues, having abdicated the throne of Sweden, arrived at Brussels; notwithstanding the admiration she affected to feel for the Great Condé, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, she made a difficulty to pay him those honors which she did not refuse to the archduke. The prince declared he would not visit her; yielding however to curiosity, he mingled in the crowd to see that extraordinary woman; she recognized that great man, and advanced to meet him; Condé ran away, saying; "All, or nothing, Madam! all, or nothing!" In the sequel,

however, he visited the queen, but not till he was certain he should be received with the respect which was his due.

Turenne attacked Landrecies : Condé proposed ^{1655.} measures which would have secured the safety of that place ; but Fuensaldagne obliged him to adopt means that were insufficient ; he only allowed him to send detachments to alarm the court that was established at La Fére, and that made a precipitate retreat ; whereas, had the prince been suffered to march with his whole army, as he wished, he would have saved Landrecies, carried terror into the very capital, and have re-established the affairs of his party. The failure of this project obliged the Spanish army to retire behind the Sambre and the Scheld ; and the royalists marched to Bouchain. The archduke undertook to defend the banks of the Haine, which, however, he abandoned on the approach of the royal army : he would have been utterly defeated had not the prince come to his succour, and covered his retreat. With only thirty officers* he resisted the efforts of several squadrons, commanded by Castelnau, and the rear-guard was in safety when Turenne advanced, with the whole of his force, to overwhelm the prince. On this occasion Turenne thought proper to write to the court that Condé had fled from him with shame : the letter fell

* Il résista seul avec trente maîtres.

into the hands of the prince, who was stung to the quick, and reproached Turenne himself with no less hauteur than bitterness. It would, no doubt, have been more dignified to have treated this imputation with silent contempt. Was there a soldier, or a Frenchman, to be found capable of suspecting the prince of a shameful action? The archduke returned to Brussels, and left the prince six thousand horse for the defence of the country, with which Condé gained several advantages.

While that great prince had to combat against the valor of the French troops, the talents of Turenne, the ill-faith of Fuensaldagne, and the ignorance of the archduke, his interests in the capital continued to be zealously espoused by faction, ardor, industry, and love. The dutchess de Châtillon every where sought him partisans. The loyalty of the maréchal D'Hocquincourt began to waver; and he was only retained by the gold of Mazarin. That minister imprisoned the dutchess de Châtillon, whom he did not release till he had secured the fidelity of the maréchal.

1656. The Lorrains wished to quit the Spanish army, and Fuensaldagne would have put them all to the sword; but the prince strongly opposed this act of barbarity, and his exertions were effectual. The archduke and Fuensaldagne, at length were recalled by Philip IV. and Don Juan of Austria, and the marquis de Caracéne took their place.

It is affirmed that the king of Spain offered Condé the general command of the troops, and that of the Low Countries; but the prince preferred to encounter the obstacles which he foresaw he should meet, rather than take the oath of allegiance to any sovereign, except the king of France. How extraordinary is it that, with a sense of duty so dignified, he should have persisted in error? Very true! but those, who by their talents, their rank, and their fortune, are placed on the highest eminence are more than other men the slaves of circumstances; and, if the allegiance of the Great Condé did not always regulate his conduct, his actions never corrupted his heart.

The change in the Spanish generals at first seemed favorable to the affairs of the prince, but his hopes were soon destroyed by the conduct of Don Juan and Caracéne. Ill-faith still prevailed in the councils, incapacity in the plans, and tardiness in decisive movements: when the prince obtained any advantages, they were, properly speaking, as much forced from his allies as from the enemy.

Turenne, after having been unsuccessful in his attack on Tournai, which the prince, with four thousand troops, saved by a skilful manœuvre, marched to Valenciennes, and, on the night of June 14, that town was invested on the right bank of the Scheld, by the army of Turenne, and

on the left by that of the maréchal de La Ferté, who held communication with his colleague by the means of bridges. Condé opened the sluices of Bouchain, and inundated the French camp; by dint of labor, however, the enemy succeeded in turning the waters back on the town. Don Juan, having now assembled his troops, joined the prince; they approached the besiegers, and equally embarrassed the two maréchals, by leaving them in uncertainty at what point they intended to begin the attack; but great men divine each other. Turenne penetrated the project of the prince, and proposed to reinforce his colleague with the half of his army; but La Ferté, thinking he was sufficiently strong, refused the offer. On the night of July 9, Don Juan and the prince ordered Marsin to make a false attack on the side of Turenne, and then fell on the lines of the maréchal de La Ferté, which they carried; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the cavalry, which that general brought to the succour of his infantry, and the prompt assistance Turenne sent him, the prince was victorious; Valenciennes was saved, and only two thousand men of the maréchal's army escaped: the rest were either drowned, slain, or made prisoners: La Ferté himself was taken, with all the staff, and more than four hundred officers. Turenne, on learning the defeat of his colleague, razed his camp, and retired, in some disorder, un-

der Quesnoy, where he boldly waited for the conqueror. The prince wished to have attacked him in his retreat; and, had his advice been followed, Turenne would have been lost; but Don Juan opposed this measure: an ordinary general is satisfied with gaining a brilliant advantage over the enemy; it is only the hero who knows how to make it effectual. This error, on the part of Don Juan, gave the troops of Turenne time to recover from their disorder, and the second fault which the Spanish general committed, in not attacking them in their camp, completed the safety of that army, which owed its preservation as much to the pusillanimity of Don Juan, as to the intrepid skill of its general.

The Spaniards determined to besiege the town of Condé, and the enterprize was successful. Turenne passed the Scheld, and marched to Artois: Don Juan and the prince followed, but the tardiness and irresolution of the former, again made Condé lose an opportunity of beating the French army at La Bussière; and the prince, though he demonstrated the certainty of success, could not prevail on the Spaniard to come to an engagement. Don Juan preferred to undertake the siege of Saint-Guillain, and Condé covered his march by one of those skilful manœuvres to which even Turenne could not refuse his admiration: the latter likewise made one worthy of himself to besiege

LaCapelle. Don Juan raised the siege of Saint-Guillain, to hasten to the succour of the latter place, which he lost by not following the advice of the prince, who urged him to attack the camp of the besiegers; the only means by which the town could have been saved. Fourteen thousand peasants, levied in the Netherlands, were defeated by four thousand horse of the prince, led by the count de Boutteville; and by this victory the army of Condé was supplied with provisions, which began to fail.

The duke D'Orléans deserted the cause of the prince, and made his peace with the court. Charles II. persecuted by Cromwell, retired to the Netherlands, and Condé, who neither made his rank nor his esteem subservient to the caprice of fortune, by his example obliged the Spaniards to treat that prince with the greatest respect.

Condé prevailed on Don Juan to make a second attack on Saint-Guillain, in the month of March, and it was successful; but the Spaniards immediately retired to their quarters till the month of June, and reinforced all the garrisons of their maritime places at the expence of those in the interior of the country. This fault did not escape Turenne; he projected the siege of Cambrai, which he knew was ill-guarded, and immediately put his plan in execution. This town would have inevitably been lost but for the indefatigable ac-

tivity of the prince. Hearing at Mons, where he was reviewing his cavalry, that the French were before Cambrai, he hastened to its succour with three thousand horse; he was misled by his guides, yet he reached the lines of Turenne, who was informed of his march. He attacked them, but a captain of the regiment of Clérambault fought him man to man: he, however, disengaged himself, and while the tumult drew the whole attention of the enemy on that side, Condé opened himself a passage through another, and triumphantly entered the place, the siege of which Turenne immediately raised. On this occasion, the town of Cambrai struck a medal in honor of the Virgin and of Condé; a singular relic of piety and gratitude.

The maréchal de La Ferté besieged Montmédy, and Condé projected the siege of Calais; but a delay of two hours made the expedition fail; it was entrusted to the prince de Ligne, who had left Gravelines for that purpose, and who, at first, was successful: but the reflux of the sea obliged him to retire. Condé, whose profound views and enlightened intrepidity were independent of good or ill-fortune, proposed to pass the Somme, and to penetrate as far as Paris. This project astonished Don Juan; as usual, he hesitated, and Turenne profited by his indecision to cover the principal places of the kingdom. Montmédy sur-

rendered to the maréchal de La Ferté; and Turenne, by a forced march, attacked Saint-Venant, leaving his artillery behind. Condé urged Don Juan to make an immediate attack on the French army; but he refused. An important convoy ill-guarded, passed within reach of the Spaniards; Don Juan was asleep, nobody awoke him, and the convoy passed. Boutteville, however, by the direction of the prince, in some measure repaired this strange oversight, occasioned by the sloth or the ill-faith of the Spaniards: he put himself at the head of a detachment, and succeeded in taking the convoy. The duke of York* could not help expressing his astonishment, at this incredible negligence, to the prince. "Ah! you do not know the Spaniards," replied Condé, "it is of them you must learn how to blunder in war!"

1658.

The French besieged and took Saint-Venant. The Spaniards laid formal siege to Ardres, which they might have carried by surprise, and which they abandoned, on the approach of Turenne, to retire under Dunkirk. The royal army attacked and seized on Mardick. The prince fell ill, France took alarm, Spain was anxious, and Europe in suspense; but the recovery of that great man restored him to glory and ill-fortune.

The physician, Guénaut, was sent by the queen to attend the prince during his illness; even Ma-

* Afterward King James II.

zarin thought it necessary to act the farce of affliction; for the perversity of men was not then so great as to exempt envy from paying homage to true grandeur. Both France and her enemies equally rejoiced in the recovery of the prince. This striking contrast, unique perhaps in history, though it cannot extenuate, throws a lustre over the faults of that great man, nearly equal to that of his virtues.

Mazarin proposed to Condé to conclude a separate peace, but this negociation, though on the point of being terminated, had the fate of all the preceding. The town of Hesdin declared for the prince: Picardy and Normandy, by the intrigues of the maréchal D'Hocquincourt, were ready to follow the example. The maréchal D'Aumont was defeated, and taken prisoner, in attempting to surprise Ostend. Cromwell obliged the court of France to lay siege to Dunkirk; and Turenne, after having misled Don Juan by seeming to menace Hesdin, arrived before Dunkirk; which he invested by land, while the English fleet blockaded the port. The king joined the army of Turenne; Don Juan, who had not foreseen this attack on Dunkirk, had dispersed his troops in Flanders and Artois, and, on hearing this intelligence, put himself on the march and reached Furnes, May 12, but without baggage and artillery. The inconveniences attending tardiness in

war, are as great as those of precipitation ; a sage and rational activity, which equally forbids inquietude and security, is the only means to always be enabled to prepare for success, or prevent defeat.

Don Juan and the prince advanced, with some squadrons, to reconnoitre the besiegers ; the maréchal D'Hocquincourt, who had joined the Spanish army, lost his life on this occasion, by an excess of ardor more worthy of a musketeer than a maréchal of France. He would have endangered the whole army, had not the duke of York, and Boutteville, who was marching back with a detachment, after having executed the orders he had received, and whom the maréchal had obliged to march forward, stopped the enemy by their intrepidity, which gave the two generals time to retire. Don Juan called a full council, in which he proposed to engage in the downs, and approach the French army ; Condé opposed this project, and demonstrated all the evils which would result ; but Don Juan was obstinate, and ordered the army to march. The prince, on the following day, renewed his remonstrance, and endeavoured to convince the Spanish general that, next to taking a bad position, the greatest fault he could commit would be to keep it ; but Don Juan remained inflexible.

Turenne soon realized the fears of the prince ;

he sallied from his camp, June 14, at break of day, to combat that army, which was led by its commander to certain defeat. It was then that the prince asked the young duke of Gloucester,* if he had ever seen a battle? "No;" replied the duke. "Well," continued Condé, "you will see one lost within half an hour."

The justness of his perception did not a moment slacken the ardor of his courage. The French army, seconded by the English fleet, was thrice repulsed by the Spaniards, who at length ceded, not being able to resist the fire of a battery which took them in flank. The Spanish cavalry did not display so much courage; they retired without waiting for the enemy, and the engagement only continued on the left, where Condé conducted himself as usual. Seeing the battle was inevitably lost, he formed the project of passing by the right wing of the French, and of entering Dunkirk with the troops he had under his command. After performing miracles of valor, he succeeded in opening the passage; but a battalion of the regiment of the French guards, advantageously posted, having enabled M. de Créqui to rally his wing, obliged the prince to retire; his horse being wounded, fell under him, and he was in danger of being taken; Boutteville

* The younger brother of Charles II.

and Coligny urged him to take theirs ; but he would not sacrifice friends so brave to his personal safety ; he took a horse from one of his gentlemen, and exerting that presence of mind which never forsook him, found the means to escape from the squadrons of the enemy, and re-join Don Juan in his retreat. Turenne only pursued the fugitives as far as the canal of Furnes.

The courage and genius by which the actions of the prince were signalized, never, perhaps, placed that great man in a more admirable point of view than on this occasion ; when Condé, under the most terrible fire, and in a rout almost general, formed the project to force a passage through a victorious army, and to leave in its rear the town of which it covered the siege. A fortunate general may gain victories, and the hero knows how to conquer, or die ; but to conceive, and daringly attempt to execute a plan so new, under such circumstances, seems almost beyond the efforts of a mortal.

The defeat of the Spanish army obliged Dunkirk to surrender. Bergues, Furnes, and Den-dermonde, followed the example. Don Juan, too feeble now to continue the campaign, dispersed his troops in the towns of Flanders, and the prince retired to Ostend, a place entirely destitute of provisions and magazines.

Louis XIV. fell ill at Mardick, and was removed

to Calais, where he recovered. The maréchal de La Ferté took Gravelines, after the trenches had been opened thirty days; and Turenne seized on Oudenarde. Condé threw himself into Tournai, and the prince de Ligne was beaten, in consequence of not sheltering himself by the Lis, as the prince had advised. This new defeat of the Spaniards was followed by the loss of Menin and Ypres. Turenne encamped before Tournai, and several skirmishes passed between the armies; but they were on neither side decisive. Philip IV. ^{1659.} finding his arms as unsuccessful in Italy, and on the frontiers of Portugal, as they had been in the Netherlands, determined at length to negotiate for peace.

The famous conferences between Don Louis de Haro and Mazarin, in the Ile des Faisans, now took place. While these ministers were negotiating, the Poles sent to offer their throne to the prince; but he answered, "that he would never accept it without the consent of his sovereign. How glorious must that reputation be, which could induce a nation to chuse, from a distant part of Europe, a prince exiled from his country, ill in his affairs, and unfortunate in his rebellion, for their monarch!

Among the important interests the two ministers had to conciliate, those of the prince no less

occupied the attention of Europe than those of the monarchs. Don Louis had the understanding to feel that the glory of his master required he should support the Great Condé, and he acted accordingly. In despite of the artifice and opposition of Mazarin; nay, regardless of the remonstrances of the prince, who incessantly conjured that minister to rather abandon his cause than the cause of his friends, Don Louis, by restoring Avesnes to France, and Juliers to the elector palatine, obtained of the French court that the prince should be reinstated in his honors, fortune, dignities, titles, and governments. The prince was likewise permitted to receive a million of crowns from Spain, not to mention the subsidies that kingdom had engaged to pay him, which amounted to more than five millions. These articles, stipulated by the treaty of the Pyrenees, on the word of two great monarchs, have never yet been fulfilled. All those who had followed the fortune of the Great Condé also recovered their former possessions, and were indemnified by Spain, and the treaty was signed November 17, 1660.

1660.

The prince heard of the conclusion of this treaty with the greatest joy; and left Brussels, regretted by the Low Countries, after having received deputations from all the towns in acknowledgment of the service he had done them. They offered

him presents, which he refused, and he gave bills to his creditors, that were duly discharged the following year.

The marquis de Caracène conducted him to the frontiers of Champagne. The prince was every where received with the greatest marks of consideration and respect, and he found the duke and dutchess de Longueville at Coulommiers. Forgetting the evils which the pernicious counsel of the latter had brought on him, he only viewed in her a beloved sister, and received that princess with the greatest tenderness : he likewise seemed happy to see his consort, who arrived two days after. The illusion of glory and of grandeur in noble minds does not stifle that sweet sensibility, which is the true source of happiness, when it originates in purity of heart.

Condé continued his route toward Provence, where the king then sojourned ; but eager though he was to pay his court to Louis, he could not refrain from going a little out of his road to see the dutchess de Châtillon. After having embraced the prince de Conti, who was at Valence with the maréchal de Grammont, he arrived at a place two leagues from Aix, where cardinal Mazarin came to receive him. He did not refuse to embrace that minister ; they went into the same coach and arrived together at Aix, where the prince found the king alone in his chamber, except the queen

his mother. Condé threw himself at the feet of the monarch, who raised him as soon as he had uttered all that his respect and attachment inspired. Louis XIV. assured him that every thing was forgotten, except the services he had formerly rendered the state. From that moment the king spoke to him in the most affectionate manner, and with as much familiarity as if he had never quitted the court.

Such was the glorious termination of the misfortunes and the rebellion of the prince. It were certainly to be wished, that in history we should always find great errors receive an adequate punishment; yet it must be acknowledged that, in this instance, the hero, pure of heart, but betrayed into mistake, is in some measure pardonable, by the mental dignity which he throughout maintains. Ordinary talents cannot disarm the severity of the reader, but admiration makes him indulgent; he deplores the mistake, but is interested for the offender; he feels indignant against the rebel, but grows attached to the hero; and in the end says to himself, with some kind of satisfaction: "his errors took birth from the misery of the times, but his heroism made their conclusion glorious."

On his return, Condé was received with the distinction due to his birth, and both the city and the court were eager to pay the homage his cele-

brity claimed. The rejoicings of the Parisians, on that occasion, were so enthusiastic that the court, always prompt at alarm, somewhat took umbrage ; but the prince, taught by age and experience that it is not always safe to encourage the homage of the public under the eye of the sovereign, conducted himself so as to remove all suspicion. He departed for Burgundy, where he was received with acclamation. It was again attempted to set him at variance with the cardinal, but he was aware of, and avoided the snare ; he then went to meet the king, who was on his return from the southern provinces, and by whom he was received as graciously as before, and followed his majesty to the capital.

Mazarin, apparently reconciled, only became the more dangerous ; the treaty of the Pyrenees, though it changed the face of affairs, did not change the heart of the cardinal. Not having it in his power to deprive him of his seat in council, the first care of that minister was to remove those brave troops, whom the misfortunes and talents of the Great Condé had so warmly attached to his person ; they were sent to serve the republic of Venice.

A minister, who is suspicious, may be thought prudent ; but his indulging in revenge, when reconciled to his enemies, can admit of no excuse. Mazarin was base enough to secretly stimulate

the duke de Lorraine to contest the possession of the Clermontois, the most valuable of Condé's possessions, and the recompense of his services; but the eloquence of the advocate-general, Talon, gained the prince his cause, and disappointed the intrigues and hopes of the cardinal.

1661.
1662.
1663.

That minister did not long survive this last trait of his odious character; and his death seemed to open the road of favor to the prince. His friends endeavoured to entangle him in that labyrinth of intrigue into which courtiers hurry at the decease of a man in power. Condé, however, despised these petty arts: he knew how to seize on authority, but he could not crouch for favor. He was the first to whom the monarch confided his intention to govern in future by himself; and the prince, far from dissuading, neglected nothing which might confirm Louis in a resolution so fortunate for the nation.

1664.
1665.

From that epocha, to 1667, the prince retired from the vortex of affairs to devote himself entirely to the education of his son, and his efforts were directed by enlightened affection. True grandeur neglects to fulfil no duty. About that time the Spanish court paid Condé 400,000 crowns, which he distributed among his friends, though he was in great want of the money. In 1665, he married the duke D'Enghien to the princess palatine, Anne of Bavaria, and retired to Chan-

tilly, where he lived in tranquillity, encircled by most of the great men of the age of Louis XIV.

Two years after, an odious libel appeared against 1666. the prince and his sister. One of his gentlemen prepared to revenge this insult in the most cruel manner, but was prevented by the prince, who took vengeance on the petty enemies which celebrity is certain to create, only by contempt: but how severe a punishment is the contempt of a great man! The king found himself personally offended by the insult offered to his blood, and thought it his duty to inflict a more rigorous chastisement: Bussy-Rabutin* was consequently confined in the Bastille, which he only quitted to languish in exile.

At this period, the king formed the project to seize on the Netherlands: the talents of Turenne and of the prince contributed more, perhaps, than it is supposed, to inspire Louis XIV. with that love of war for which he has been so often, and perhaps so justly, censured. It is the probability of success which is the stimulus of ambition. Had the generals of that monarch been only men of mediocre talents, he might have possibly been more pacific; but no blame can be attached to heroes who were entrusted with the defence of the state, and who were dependent on the will of their sovereign.

* The author of the libel, which was called *Amours des Gaules*.

1667

Louis XIV. chose Turenne to undertake the conquest of the Netherlands, under his orders. The prince retired to Chantilly; but his son, the duke D'Enghien, who on all occasions showed himself worthy of the name he had to support, joined the army. That young prince fell ill at the siege of Lille, and was conveyed to Douai: the father immediately hastened to his son, to whom he paid the most tender offices, and when his fears were pacified returned to Chantilly.

The success the king obtained in Flanders, on every side, roused the enemies of his majesty, and preparations were made to impede his progress; but the hero of France, in his retreat, watched over her interests; he transmitted the plan of subduing Franche-Comté to the marquis de Louvois, the greatest perhaps of ministers, had he been the most virtuous. The project was eagerly seized by Louvois, who caused it to be adopted by the king, and Condé was appointed to put it in execution; it could not have been placed in better hands.

Condé went to Burgundy, under pretence of convening the states. While the session, which he purposely prolonged, was held, he made preparations for his expedition with the utmost secrecy; and, by negotiations skilfully opened, succeeded in lulling the vigilance of the Comtois, diverting the attention of the Swiss, and in as-

sembling the necessary troops, before his intention was suspected. At length, the secret was divulged, and it was Paris that warned Franche-Comté of the danger by which it was menaced; the people convoked their militia for the 8th of February, a tardy and useless precaution; those weak defenders soon became the submissive subjects of the monarch they were intended to resist. 1668.

On the 4th of February the prince marched into Franche-Comté, and on the 7th that general took possession of Besançon, and Luxembourg, of Salins. The town of Dôle made a firmer resistance; the season, which did not allow a siege to be undertaken, favored the inclination which the prince had to carry all that dared resist him by storm; it was before that place that he was joined by the king. After receiving that monarch's orders, Condé made the necessary arrangements, and carried the outworks of the place sword in hand. The prince led his son to these different attacks, and, amid the most terrible canonading, explained all he had ordered. To the honor of human nature, sensibility sometimes pierced through the horror of those sanguinary moments; the persons near the prince shed tears of admiration and sympathy, to see that great man surmount the weakness, while he paid homage to the feelings of nature, unite dig-

nified courage to paternal tenderness, and show himself at once the model of heroes and of fathers.

The valor of the French, the activity of their chief, the success of the monarch, and the dread of the horrors of an assault, soon determined the inhabitants of Dôle to capitulate. The prince immediately marched to Gray, and caused the Château de Joux, to which the marquis D'Yenne, the commandant of Franche-Comté, had retired, to be invested. The cowardice of the general, the treachery of the abbé de Watteville, and the gold of Louis XIV. soon made these two places, as well as the rest of the country, submit to the French, so that there was only the interval of a fortnight between its invasion and conquest. The king immediately presented Condé with the government of a province, for the conquest of which he was indebted to the justness of the prince's views, and the energy of his measures; but peace was almost immediately concluded, and Franche-Comté was restored to the Spaniards. That same year, October 11, Louis, duke de Bourbon, son of the duke D'Enghien, and grandson of the Great Condé, was born.

The abdication of Casimir, king of Poland, made Louis XIV. desirous to count another monarch in his family. Condé urged his majesty to favor the duke D'Enghien, on whom he was

desirous the crown should be conferred ; but the Poles demanded the prince for their sovereign, and Louis at first seemed to wish the election to fall on him ; but ambition made that monarch change his intentions. It was intimated to Louis by the foreign powers, that they would suffer him to conquer Holland, provided he did not place the crown of Poland on Condé's head ; and his majesty ordered the prince to resign his claims. In consequence of this prohibition, Condé wrote immediately to inform the partisans he had in that country that he renounced his pretensions to the Polish throne. The haughtiest of princes had now become the most submissive of subjects ; but his friends in Poland persevered in their wish, and they were on the point of succeeding, when calumny, that monster, fostered in courts, and a disgrace to human nature, successfully turned its arms against the prince, and employed libels, cabals, and corruption, the scourge of true merit, which too frequently can only be vindicated by the justice of posterity. The Poles soon repented of the unworthy choice they had been induced to make*, and renewed their offers to the prince, who proposed his nephew, the duke de Longueville, in his place.

The prince was not merely preyed upon by

* They elected Michael Koribut Wiesnowiski, of the race of the Jagellons, June 19, 1669.

the disappointments of ambition ; the exhausted state of his finances, the few resources which offered themselves, the number of his creditors, and the disorder of his affairs, made him the most wretched of men ; so true it is, that exalted rank, even when united to elevation of soul, cannot secure happiness.

Gourville, that faithful adherent of the prince, had quitted Condé, on his departure for Brussels ; and, after having experienced all the caprice of fortune, had been forced to leave his country : the court opposed his return. Condé, who never forgot those who had zealously served him, warmly exerted himself in his behalf, and obtained his repeal. His rank, honors, talents, celebrity, nay, the homage of the universe, had not been sufficient to shield the prince from adversity ; a benevolent action restored him to happiness. Gourville, penetrated with gratitude, devoted himself entirely to the service of his benefactor ; he hastened into Spain, to oblige that court to pay a part of what was so legitimately due to the prince ; and, by his perseverance, activity, and intelligence, at length brought the affairs of Condé into some order, and delivered him from that host of creditors which was more formidable to the prince than the combined forces of Europe.

1670.

At that period, the union of Mlle. de Mont-

1671.

pensier and M. de Lauzun was in agitation. In despite of the remonstrances of the whole court, the king was inclined to give his consent ; but the prince so forcibly urged his majesty to protect the honor of the royal family, that he convinced Louis XIV. who ordered Mademoiselle to think no more of that union : it is, however, said, that she secretly espoused M. de Lauzun ; and that princess, who had soared beyond her sex, while deciding victory in the favor of a hero, fell again into the class of ordinary women, by forming that union ; she never forgave the prince for having opposed her inclination. But she little knew that great man, if she imagined that even gratitude could make him fail to perform that which he held to be his duty.

The prince, who had never been able to love his consort,* about this time found a favorable opportunity to separate from her ; a project he had long had in contemplation. He obtained the king's permission to fix the residence of that princess at Châteauroux, where she died in 1694.

In reading the history of the Great Condé, we cannot but feel regret that, through life, he had

* The reader will recollect that the princess de Condé was the niece of the cardinal de Richelieu, for whom, as we have seen, the prince had an insurmountable aversion ; it was not surprising that the hatred he had vowed to that minister should extend to his niece.

(*Note of the Parisian Editor.*)

so little regard for his consort, in despite of all her exertions in his behalf; but great men would be superior to human nature, were they exempt from all its foibles. There are insurmountable dislikes, for which we cannot account; and the hero, no doubt, is as unable to guard against them as the generality of men.

The same year, the Great Condé received his majesty at Chantilly; and the magnificence of a great prince was combined with the elegance of a man of taste. With respect, he knew how to mingle that frank gaiety, and that simple, yet dignified courtesy, which brighten the countenance, and without which the most splendid festivals are equally dull and embarrassing, both to the host and his guests. The public joy, however, was disturbed by the well-known accident of Vatel, *contrôleur de la bouche*,* who killed himself because the sea fish did not arrive in time.

Louis XIV. indignant against the Dutch, who had insulted him, burned to take signal vengeance, and consulted the prince by what means he could ruin their commerce. The answer which Condé gave, admirably portrays his character. "I know but one, Sire," replied the prince, "which is to subdue them." This was sufficient to determine an ambitious monarch to

* Purveyor of the kitchen.

attempt that conquest; war was declared in April; and the king put himself in march at the head of one hundred and ten thousand men, accompanied by the prince, the duke D'Enghien, and Turenne. Great though the splendour was which Louis XIV. diffused over that army, it was less adorned by the magnificence of a potent monarch, than by the presence of two great men.

At the first encampment, Louis paid public homage to the talents of the Great Condé, by assigning him the best quarters. The prince, ignorant of this, was astonished, and made his complaint to the king; who replied, "that they had only followed his directions, that he considered him as his general, and that he wished him to be treated as such." Louis XIV. though not a man of genius, had always the good sense to place his glory in patronising all the men of talent his age produced.

The prince, by reminding the king that he had failed in the conquest of Flanders, in consequence of having divided his forces, determined that monarch to assemble them, to make a descent on Holland, which he proposed to attack by the Maese; the king, however, followed the advice of Turenne, who preferred the bank of the Lower Rhine. Louis took Rhinberg, and Turenne, Orsoy; while the prince laid siege to

Wesel. Before they crossed the Rhine, the Swiss revolted : Condé caused them to be enveloped by his army ; and the fear of a prompt and rigorous chastisement determined them to submit.

During the siege, the women of the town, terrified at the progress of the works, and by the capture of an important fort, of which the French had taken possession, sent to demand permission of the prince to leave the place : Condé, though it might well be supposed that the terror they would spread would facilitate his success, answered " that he could not think of depriving his triumph of its greatest ornament." His calculation was just ; those very women prevailed on the governor to surrender at the end of three days.

Condé marched to Emmerick, of which he gained possession, by suffering the town to retain its magistrates, its privileges, and those trifling consolations of which the conquered are no less jealous than the conquerors are lavish. Hults, Dorkel, and Huessel, submitted to the prince. Turenne besieged Rées ; the governor made a vigorous defence ; Condé summoned him to surrender ; at his name the inhabitants wished to force the garrison to capitulate ; the governor still resisted ; but his obstinacy only delayed the capture of the place a few days.

The prince of Orange defended the Issel with his whole force; Condé, whose counsel always bore the stamp of his genius, proposed to pass the Rhine, and by this means to frustrate the enemy's plan of defence. Louis XIV. approved and adopted the measure; and Turenne examined, and found nothing to object. They were provided with copper boats, which had been newly invented by a person named Martinet. Two gentlemen, natives of the country, pointed out a ford, only thirty paces of which was out of depth; it was tried, found practicable, and every thing was prepared for that memorable expedition, which has been too much extolled by flattery, but which deserved praise for the boldness of the project, and the rapidity of its execution.

The prince of Orange, misled at first by the mock attempts that were made on the side of the Issel, at length divined the intentions of the king, and first sent the count de Montbas, then the maréchal de Wurtz, with a corps that appeared strong enough to second the obstacles which nature opposed to the passage of an army; but which was still insufficient to resist Condé, Louis XIV. and the French.

At ten o'clock in the evening, the king repaired to the prince's tent: the night was spent in raising batteries, redoubts, and ramparts, to strengthen the bridge, and to aid the passage of the infantry.

It was agreed that the king's body guards, and a part of the cavalry, should ford and swim across the river. The prince would willingly have put himself at their head, but the gout, which would not allow him to let his foot touch water, made him determine to go in a boat with his son, the duke de Bouillon, the prince de Marsillac, and some others. They were at some little distance from the shore when they saw the duke de Longueville, who cried that he would swim to them if they did not return for him, hastening to the bank of the river. The prince rowed back, and took him into the boat. They gained the shore, attacked, and came to action: the cavalry of the enemy was instantly put to rout, and the infantry asked for quarter. The most dangerous of expeditions was on the point of succeeding without any blood being spilt, but the rash valor of the duke de Longueville suddenly spread a mourning veil over laurels so precious. That young prince, with the duke D'Enghien, and the corps of volunteers, was the first who made an onset on the Dutch infantry: they called for quarter; the duke refused, and fired his pistol: he was answered with a discharge that stretched both him and the flower of the noblesse lifeless on the field of battle.

Condé advanced to the succour of those impetuous young men, whose temerity he dreaded; an officer of the enemy came up to him, and

aimed a stroke at him, which would have inflicted instantaneous death, had not the prince warded the pistol with his hand ; and by so doing received a wound in the wrist : he did not, however, have his wound dressed till he had revenged the death of his unfortunate nephew, and secured the glory of France. Then that hero, covered with glory, but oppressed at once by two of the greatest afflictions of human nature, bodily pain, and grief of heart, suffered himself to be conveyed to a barn, and caused the body of the duke de Longueville to be placed by his side. That young prince had scarcely lost his life when an envoy arrived to bring him the crown of Poland ; a striking contrast of the summit and sudden fall of human grandeur.

The king visited the wounded prince, and expressed his gratitude in the most affecting terms : he ordered Turenne to take the command of the army ; and, notwithstanding the youth of the duke D'Enghien, gave that prince the command which Turenne had held.

Condé was removed to Emmerick, where he heard with pleasure of the rapid conquests of Louis XIV. but he did not cease to warn that monarch “ that the capture of Amsterdam was of the greatest importance, and that he ought to neglect no means to gain possession of that city.” The extreme caution of Turenne, however, de-

cided otherwise; and Louis XIV. was generally blamed, on that occasion, for not having rather used the fire of Condé than the lead of Turenne. To that mistake the king added another; he dispersed his army to guard the posts, instead of destroying them, as the prince had advised*, which shortly made him lose the whole fruits of his glory and his conquests. The king was obliged to return to Versailles, leaving garrisons, but no army.

As soon as the prince could bear the motion of a carriage he began his route to Chantilly, travelling leisurely through the Netherlands, and always occupied with what might be of utility to the state. On this journey he had several interesting conferences with the count de Monterey, governor of the Low Countries, of which he gave an account to the king.

On the return of the prince, the abbé D'Orléans, elder brother to the young duke de Longueville, in whose favor he had renounced his birthright, came to the Great Condé and offered to make a will, in which he meant to constitute that prince his sole heir: a proposal utterly unexpected. Condé had the generosity to dissuade his nephew from this measure, and to prevail on him to make the will in favor of the dutchess, his mo-

* Condé was then at Utrecht, where he was visited by the king.

ther; and as those estates would have fallen to him on the death of that princess, he carried his disinterestedness so far as to induce the abbé D'Orleans, by the same act, to assign the principality of Neufchâtel, and his other estates, to the prince de Conti, after the decease of the dutchess de Longueville. This will was in the sequel contested by madame de Clermont, but the validity of the first was decided by parliament in favor of the prince de Conti.

At the time that the arms of Louis XIV. were crowned with the most prosperous success, the other European powers were struck with such consternation and astonishment, that they had not the courage to seek the means of arresting his progress; but, as soon as the good fortune of that monarch began to fluctuate, they unanimously armed to accelerate its fall. The elector of Brandenburg, the emperor Leopold, and the duke de Lorraine, soon forced Louis to tremble for his frontiers.

The prince had not long returned to Chantilly when the king called on him to defend the Upper Rhine, Alsatia, Lorraine, and the *Pays-Messin*. His wound, which was not yet healed, did not prevent that great man from immediately obeying the orders of his sovereign, and flying to the defence of his country. His skilful dispositions prevented the enemy from penetrating into France;

he ravaged the electorate of Treves, and detached his cavalry to the succour of Charleroy, the siege of which was quickly raised.

Disease soon spread in his army; the abundance of rain, and the inundations it caused, had made the roads impassable, and consequently provisions were scarce. Every day augmented the distress, and the troops began to murmur at the prince's persisting in keeping the camp he occupied; but, independent of the military reasons by which he might be influenced, Condé was determined to remain, because it would have been impossible to remove the sick, whom he would not abandon to the mercy of the enemy. His perseverance was crowned with success; the season grew mild, the rivers returned to their beds, health and abundance were re-established, and the prince returned with his army to Metz, having, by his firmness, saved the lives of those brave men whom he had been urged to abandon, and doubtless feeling more self-satisfaction than he had done after the most glorious of his victories. He did not quit the army till he had visited the borders of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Maese, in company with his son, and the celebrated Vauban, and taken all the necessary precautions to guard the kingdom against invasion.

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Louis XIV. received the prince with the highest marks of distinction and regard, and confided to

him the vast designs he had planned, such as the conquest of Franche-Comté, and the Netherlands. Condé, though he admired the courage and grand views of that monarch, advised him to defer their execution to a more fortunate season.

The following year Louis XIV. had three armies on foot, and gave Condé the command of that which was destined to keep Holland and the prince of Orange in awe, that the movements of the army, which was to be on the offensive; and of which the king had taken the command, might be facilitated. The first care of the prince was to repair the fault which he had endeavoured to prevent the preceding campaign; he contented himself with possessing and fortifying the most important posts, and caused the others to be evacuated and demolished.

The Great Condé, whom history has reproached with being inclined to severity, on entering this newly-conquered country, displayed all the sensibility of his soul, on witnessing the picture of misery and devastation which every where met his sight. Louvois, that imperious and cruel minister of a monarch too greedy of conquest, imposed the most exorbitant and oppressive taxes on those wretched victims of the ambition of monarchs: these wretches, without participating in the glory of success, experienced the evils inseparable from war; oppression, ruin, and the

sufferings which that scourge on every side inflicted.

The great Condé, at the head of an army, appeared in these conquered provinces rather as a benefactor than a general, and sympathized in the complaints of the unhappy natives. He several times laid the submissive but just remonstrances, which were forced from them by actual wretchedness, before the court; and endeavoured to impress the necessity of attaching that people, whose allegiance being the effect of force could not be firm, by a mild and beneficent government. The complaints of those unhappy people, the justice of their demands, and the intercession of so great a man, would have induced any other but Louvois to grant some alleviation to their misery; but that inexorable minister replied; *the money of those people was more necessary to government than their good will*, and Condé could only pity woes he was not suffered to heal.

He was more fortunate in his application for his soldiers, whose pay he got augmented: this enabled him to maintain that strict discipline necessary to secure the authority of a chief over such a multitude.

The prince was received at Utrecht, not only with the greatest honors, but with those bursts of enthusiasm and demonstrations of joy, the tumultuous but naïf expression of which is always

grateful to those persons, whom their rank condemns to meet the deceitful homage of cold respect, or of base adulation.

It was from that town that Condé, who always considered the public utility, and whose army was not immediately to act, sent all the old troops that had wintered in Holland to the royal army, and to that of Turenne. He received in their place newly levied regiments, whom his talents and the confidence he inspired, soon made as formidable as the most veteran corps.

In the midst of these occupations the prince had a most violent attack of the gout. Most of the learned men, with whom Holland abounded, were assembled at Utrecht; he sought their society, and was never an importunate guest: his wit and information restored that equality which his rank seemed to exclude. The prince felt that the intercourse of men of letters diffuses a charm over every station of life; that it forms childhood, enlightens youth, occupies maturity, and is the consolation of old age; that it terrifies none but the weak, and that it shelters the wise from fools.

The subject most frequently discussed in these meetings, was that of religion. Condé, who perhaps made his faith a little too subservient to the light of his reason, endeavoured to dissipate his doubts, by the flambeau of philosophy. If the object in itself were laudable, the means were

dangerous ; for, in religious matters, we are taught that it is our duty to reject, without examination, those errors which our reason presents to us as truths ; and to blindly believe those truths that wear the garb of falsehood. If the understanding of the prince made him inwardly condemn the prejudices of the multitude, good sense always induced him to respect those prejudices in public. Encircled as he was by philosophers little confirmed in the faith, he ordered public prayers to be said for the success of his arms, and by this means attached all the catholics of the conquered provinces, who joined their vows to those of the French.

That natural feeling of man, the love of his country, was strong in the breast of the protestants ; it inspired courage in the war-like, opened the treasures of the wealthy, conducted the labors of the poor, and gave industry and valor to all. Forts were raised, dikes were cut, and the country inundated : in short, devastation, which is generally accompanied by slavery and death, this time became the pledge of safety, and the arm of freedom. After having taken every human precaution, those heretics dared also to implore the aid of the Almighty ; they raised their profane, but supplicant hands to heaven ; they opposed fervor to regularity : but of all these prayers, whether sanctified or unholy, the least orthodox appear to

have been those alone to which the Supreme, whose all beneficent wisdom, no doubt was more swayed by the wants than the opinions of men, gave a favorable ear.

Neither the singularity of the means of defence, nor the obstinacy of the defenders slackened the vigor and activity of the prince; and, in despite of the advice of Louvois, who only wished to employ him to keep the Dutch from acting, he endeavoured to aim decisive blows; but the talents and courage of the prince of Orange, who saved Nieuwerluys and Muyden, the capture of which must inevitably have led to that of Amsterdam, ruined the daring project which the prince had conceived, to penetrate into the country at two sides at once, by passing narrow dikes that were broken in several places.

While Condé was obliged to yield to insurmountable obstacles, Louis XIV. attacked and took Maestricht, after opening the trenches thirteen days. That monarch, however, was forced to interrupt his conquests, that he might hasten to guard Alsatia and Lorraine, which were menaced by the emperor. On his departure, he sent twelve thousand men to the prince, who proposed to conquer Frise, or Brabant; but Louis XIV. ordered him to wait the issue of the descent on Zealand. It proved unsuccessful; the celebrated Ruyter beat the combined fleets of France and

England; and Condé, finding himself reduced to the most complete inaction, sent six thousand men to the bishop of Munster, who alone was able to act.

The emperor declared against France, and almost all the princes of the empire followed his example, which changed the face of Europe, and the theatre of war. At this intelligence the prince immediately determined to send a part of his infantry to Turenne: he marched, at the same time, with his cavalry, to the *Pays-D'Alost*, and from thence spread them in the Netherlands, as soon as the count de Monterey had declared his intentions.

The prince of Orange, seeing the French army depart, immediately quitted his marshes, seized on Naerden, and advanced into the Low Countries, where he was joined by twelve thousand Spaniards. The situation of the prince now became critical; he had only fifteen thousand troops, who were in ill-condition. Louvois pretended to think his army of no great consequence; and the remonstrances of Condé had little effect on the ill-will of that minister; but the talents of the general supplied the insufficiency of the army; and Condé manœuvred so skilfully, that the prince of Orange, losing all hope of obtaining any advantage over him, repassed the Rhine to join the imperialists.

At the end of this campaign, both the prince

snd Turenne had equally cause to complain of Louvois, and those two great men were about to unite and inform the king of the conduct of that faithless or negligent minister ; but the tears of Le Tellier, the father of Louvois, disarmed, perhaps too lightly, the warmth of the prince, and only Turenne bore his complaints to the foot of the throne.

The number of the enemies of France, which daily increased, and the disaffection of his troops, obliged Louis XIV. to abandon his conquests in Holland. Luxembourg, who had remained in that country, and whose talents were not then fully known, was intrusted with its evacuation : this operation was of such importance, and so difficult to execute in the face of three hostile armies, that the king thought the prudence of Condé necessary to insure its success. The prince, however, had scarcely reached the frontiers of Flanders when he heard, to his great delight, that his pupil had acquitted himself of this dangerous commission in the most brilliant and happy manner.

The prince returned to the court, where he, a second time, gave a plan of the conquest of Franche-Comté, which was adopted by the king, who undertook it in person, accompanied by the duke D'Enghien, who commanded the army, under his orders. The prince, with a handful of troops, was ordered to stop the progress of the

united forces of Spain and Holland, in the Netherlands. On this occasion, Franche-Comté made a more firm resistance than it had done in 1668; especially the town of Besançon, the capture of which was rendered more difficult by the overflowing of the Doubs; but the perseverance, the example, and the liberalities of the king and the duke D'Enghien, surmounted all obstacles: Besançon, Dôle, and Salins, notwithstanding their efforts, submitted to the law of the conqueror, and the whole province was soon subdued.

Condé, who was in Flanders, then formed the project of seizing on Mons; he only waited for the arrival of the *maréchal de Bellefond*, who had received orders to withdraw the garrisons which still remained in some towns of Holland, and to join the prince. The *maréchal*, who disapproved that movement, dared to follow his own opinion in preference to the command of the court; so that a new order was necessary to make him obey, and this delay enabled the imperialists to cut off his road. This intelligence no sooner reached Condé than, in despite of the gout, by which he was almost laid up, he marched to meet the *maréchal*, and endeavoured to facilitate a junction. He went to Tongres, and by his manœuvres forced the imperialists to retire to Limbourg, and the other allies to remain inactive spectators of his junction with the *maréchal*, after having taken

the forts of Novagne and Argenteau, on the Mease, which rendered the communication between Maestricht and Liege inconvenient. The prince returned with his army into Hainault, without giving up his plan on Mons; however, the ill condition of his troops, and the number of the enemies of France, soon determined him to abandon all idea of conquest, and only to occupy himself with the safety of the kingdom, which was strongly menaced on every side; but Turenne was on the Rhine, and Condé in the Netherlands, and France was tranquil.

The prince had found the means to recruit his army at the expence of the enemy's country, in which he maintained his ground in despite of the allies, the superiority of whose forces scarcely balanced that of his talents, and the multiplicity of his means. It is, however, probable that the enemy would have penetrated into France, had they agreed on the means of invasion: but personal interest soon sowed division among the allies. The prince of Orange, only intent on recovering Grave and Maestricht, and counteracted by the Spaniards, who wished to retake Charleroy, with great difficulty made the count de Souche, general of the imperialists, whose views were directed on Alsatia, join his army. The opinion of the prince of Orange at length prevailed, and the allies united to attack the prince, who had

stationed his troops on the heights of Picton, near Charleroy ; a position which had the double advantage of being excellent in itself, and of enabling his army to counteract the enemy, encamped at Nivelles, on whatever side he might advance.

The prince of Orange, judging the position of Condé to be impenetrable, determined to attack Quesnoy, and for that purpose marched to Seneff, August 11; by break of day. By this movement he brought his flank very near the army of the prince, whom this fault did not escape ; Condé resolved to profit by the opportunity, and to fall upon the enemy's rear-guard : he caused Seneff to be attacked by the marquis de Montal ; sent Fourille to charge six squadrons of the enemy, which it was necessary to conquer, and, at the head of the cavalry of the king's body guards, fell on that of the prince de Vaudemont. Victory on every side declared for the French ; but Condé always thought he had done nothing while there still remained enemies to vanquish. He perceived the half of the hostile army, which waited to give him battle on an eminence, defended by orchards and hedges, garnished with infantry ; all these obstacles neither stopped the impetuosity of the general, nor the valor of the French : the infantry attacked and carried the hedges. The prince, at the head of the cavalry and of the body guards, made a second charge on

the enemy's cavalry, which he put to rout, and pursued to the priory of Saint-Nicholas, where new obstacles awaited the conqueror. Full of ardor and confidence, they attacked the gardens of the priory, which were filled with infantry. The enemy made the strongest resistance, but were soon forced to yield to the vigor of the attack, and to the talents of him by whom it was directed: they fled to the village of Faith; there the prince of Orange assembled his whole force, and, covered by gardens, hedges, rivulets, and marshes, determined to wait to see whether Condé and the French would be daring enough to attack him behind entrenchments so formidable.

The prince carried his victorious arms as far as that tremendous position, and did not hesitate to make the necessary dispositions for an attack. He gave his orders, and the battle was renewed with increased obstinacy. The enemy fought like desperate men, and the French performed miracles of valor; blood flowed in rivulets; the advantages were balanced; Condé himself, at the head of the body guards and of the brigade of Caylus, after having pierced the enemy's ranks, met with momentary reverses, which, however, he repaired with the cavalry which Luxembourg, who was opposed to the imperialists, sent to his succour. The allies would have been destroyed had not the Swiss, whose position en-

abled them to determine the victory, refused to march. Condé sent in quest of other troops, time was lost, his horse was killed under him, he fell into a moat, and the duke D'Enghien flew to his succour, raised the prince, and was himself wounded. The prince while expecting the infantry, continued the combat with the cavalry, but that did not decide the third victory : night came on, and the combatants fought by moon light ; at length it ceased, and they waited for day to recommence.

Condé made new dispositions ; suddenly a discharge of musketry was heard ; it was a stratagem of the enemy, who profited by the night to retire. At break of day the prince made his victorious army retire to the camp of Picton, bearing a hundred and five banners or standards, and many other trophies ; more certain monuments of victory than the *Te Deum*, which they dared to sing at the Hague, and the ridiculous homage of which, no doubt, the God of battles rejected. The French had seven thousand men killed on that day, and the enemy twenty thousand, even by the acknowledgement of the count de Monterey.*

When we reflect on the high degree of valor, enterprize, military science, and presence of mind, which the prince displayed on that day, we feel

* See Desormeaux, Vol. iv. p. 413.

but little astonished that the heroes of idolatrous nations were thought to be more than mortal : the powers displayed by beings so exalted, seem beyond the limits of humanity ; and nothing less than divine rays could picture to the imagination, that excess of glory by which such men are surrounded.

The stadtholder burning to justify the *Te Deum* sang at the Hague, covered, but did not repair his loss, by making his garrisons join him ; he then marched to Oudenarde, which he invested. The town was defended by the marquis D'Argouges, de Rannes, and the famous Vauban : the stadtholder made vigorous attacks, in the hope of taking the place before the prince could come to its succour ; but Condé made a hasty march to save it at any cost. The prince of Orange, often unfortunate, but never discouraged, proposed to meet him, but this was strongly opposed by the field-maréchal de Souche, and the incertitude of these generals having enabled Condé to arrive within sight of the lines of the besiegers, and make his dispositions to attack them on the morrow, the two generals were forced to retire with the greatest precipitation during night, the darkness of which was prolonged by a thick fog, which lasted till nine in the morning. Condé followed in pursuit, and had already overtaken their rear-guard ; but the skilful manœuvres of the count de Souche

saved the army of the allies, which retired in disorder under the walls of Gand.

Condé might have easily followed up his success, but, as usual, he preferred the public utility to his personal glory ; he sent fifteen thousand of his troops into Alsatia to join the army of Turenne, which was too weak in force to resist the enemy, and then thought proper to return to court.

Louis XIV. came to the head of the principal staircase of Versailles to meet him : the prince, who could with difficulty walk, because of his gout, begged the king to excuse him that his majesty was obliged to wait, and Louis made this well-known and admirable reply : " Do not hurry yourself cousin ; it is not surprising that you can scarcely walk, loaded as you are with laurels." It is thus that a great king knows how to recompense and deserve the services of a great man.

The death of the king of Poland revived the ancient faction of the prince in that country ; but Condé had attained that age which is not dazzled by illusions. The high and certain rank which he held in France, and the reputation, no less permanent than brilliant, which he enjoyed in the bosom of his country, were in his opinion more solid benefits than the gift of a throne, which must always be unsteady, as it would be conferred by intrigue ; that monster, the tyrant

both of king and people, which seldom performs what it has promised, always poisons the gifts it confers, and quickly destroys those very gifts.

Condé, convinced of these truths by reflexion and experience, had awaited the decision of the diet with the greatest indifference; and the eloquence of Jablonowski determined the Polish noblesse in favor of the grand maréchal, John Sobieski.

The prince at the head of six hundred thousand men, divided into several corps, one of which the king intended to command on the side of Charleroy, entered the Netherlands, after having sent Créqui to seize on Dinant and Rochefort de Hui: he besieged Limbourg, defended by a prince of Nassau. The king covered the siege with all the corps dispersed in the Low Countries, which he had assembled to form an army of observation. The stadtholder advanced, and Louis crossed the Maese to march to that prince. Condé left his son to complete the conquest of Limbourg, and joined the army of the king. The stadtholder immediately retired; and Condé took advantage of this precipitate retreat to seize on Tirelemont, Saint-Tron, with several other places, and laid the whole of the Netherlands under contribution.

The Germans having marched to the banks of

the Rhine, the king thought it necessary to send a great part of the army of the prince to that of Turenne, and only left him thirty-five thousand men to oppose the prince of Orange, whose force exceeded sixty thousand. In despite of this inequality, Condé gained ground in the enemy's country, and every where defeated the detachments of the army of the allies; but the death of Turenne, the blunders of his successors, and the misfortunes of the state, soon called the prince into Alsatia, where the enemy had penetrated by the treachery of the inhabitants of Strasburg. Though his health was weakened by the fatigues of war, and the pain of the gout, he did not hesitate to obey his sovereign's command: he left his worthy pupil, Luxembourg, at the head of the army in Flanders, and marched with a detachment to enter Alsatia. At Metz he heard of the defeat which Créqui had met with at Consarbrick: "*this was only wanting to make him a great captain,*" said the prince, who could calculate the talents of a general with as much justice as he could the resources of a battle: his prediction was verified.

Condé gave the necessary orders to ward off, as much as possible, the consequences of the defeat of Créqui, and continued his route. He said his great desire was *to converse an hour with the shade of Turenne!* What a eulogium on both those extraordinary men! He at length arrived

in Alsatia. The maréchal de Duras, who was the commandant, had entrenched himself in Châtenoy; but the defeat of Créqui, at Consarbrick, and the capture of Treves, opened the entrance of Lorraine to the enemy. Montecuculli already besieged Haguenau: Condé hastened to the succour of that place, which was vigorously defended by Mathieu de Castella: Montecuculli, fearing that he would cut off the communication with Strasburg, raised the siege and marched to meet the prince, who, though inferior in force, awaited his arrival with intrepidity, sheltering his army with the rivulet of Bruch.

The two armies made a heavy canonading, but it was only a stratagem on the part of Montecuculli, who wished by that means to conceal the march of a large detachment, which he sent on his right to take possession of the mountains that separate Alsatia from Lorraine. This movement, however, did not escape the prince; he made it fail by regaining Châtenoy, where he covered all the provinces that were threatened.

Condé maintained himself for two months in that camp, in which Montecuculli thought he could not subsist a fortnight. That skilful general was never able to harass the convoys or the forage of the French army, and was soon obliged to repass the Rhine, not having the means of subsisting near an army which he thought to have

displaced, or have destroyed, by the scarcity which his own experienced. He made an attempt on Saverne, which however did not succeed; while that of the prince on Brisgau, which he had caused to be ravaged by four thousand horse, had all the success he had foreseen.

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With this campaign, as sage as it was skilful, the prince crowned his military labors, and we shall hence forward see him sustain his glory by his pacific virtues. The health of that great man daily grew more weak; he felt that it might utterly fail him at those important moments when strength of body is as necessary as strength of mind, and the dread of hazarding the welfare of the state, as well as the high reputation which he had justly acquired by thirty-five years of glory and success, made him determine to request the king to associate his son, the duke D'Enghien, then thirty-three years of age, in the command of the army of Alsatia, which was offered him by his majesty.

Louvois, however, more ambitious than patriotic, knew how to manage with a courtier's skill that ministerial weapon, the point of which must have become blunted by its frequent use, but its insidious direction is not the less sure, though often degraded by the hand by which it is hurled. Glory, honor, veneration, and gratitude, be the reward of those admirable men, whose talents

are under the guidance of a pure heart; those truly useful ministers designed by providence to enlighten sovereigns, awaken their justice, and establish their grandeur on the love of their people, and the fear of their neighbours! But far from the throne be the corrupt of soul by whom talents are dishonored, or kept in obscurity; or those ephemeral insects, who have no merit but that of being unknown, and whom the ambitious raise only to destroy, or to keep inactive the virtue which they fear; their existence is either dangerous or precarious, is productive of change but not of reform, and their fall, which soon or late is inevitable, does but produce additional misfortune to the nation, by the instability it shows, and the changes it produces.

Louvois, however, whose ambition was no less blind than extravagant, seeing himself delivered by a canon ball of the importunate existence of the Great Turenne, was on the watch to seize a favorable opportunity to remove the Great Condé from the head of the armies, and thought it presented itself in the proposal which the prince made to associate his son in the command. He revived that mistrust of the princes of the blood, which forms a part of the education of kings, and which an artful minister knows how to kindle into jealousy, when superiority of talent accompanies that of birth in those chiefs of the state,

the heirs and natural supporters of the noblest throne of Europe.

It is to be expected, that the pupil of Mazarin should have been more aware than any other of this weakness incidental to sovereigns ; but surely Louis the Great ought to have risen superior to mistrust. That monarch, however, was merely man, Louvois was a minister, and Condé a prince of the blood. Luxembourg was appointed general, and the prince returned to Chantilly for the re-establishment of his health.

Toward the middle of the campaign, Philipsburg was besieged ; the king then felt that he had need of the council of the great man whose services he had rejected, and recalled Condé to court : but the prince could not remedy the mischief he might probably have prevented ; and the capture of Philipsburg, doubtless, made Louis regret that he had been influenced by the counsel of Louvois ; but the good fortune of that great king was not yet arrived at its climax. The victories and success of Luxembourg and Créqui made him, for a time, forget his misfortune in having lost Turenne, and the fault of not having employed Condé, who nevertheless always remained the soul of his counsels, and the guide of his generals.

As long as he thought he could be useful to the king and the nation, Condé employed himself in the affairs of government ; but when he supposed

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the glory of the state was in no danger, he determined to lead a tranquil easy life; a happiness to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He asked permission of the king to retire from court: the monarch answered, with that dignified amenity which only elevated souls can truly express; "Cousin, your suit is granted; but it is not without regret that I deprive myself of the counsels of the greatest man in my kingdom."

The prince's return to Chantilly, made a great sensation at court, and was variously interpreted; but it is not worth while to dwell on the animadversions of the public, by whom, as it is well known, the retreat of a great man is invariably ascribed either to satiated or disappointed ambition. Let us dismiss awhile the illusions of grandeur to follow the process of human nature, and we shall find the retreat of Condé had a more natural cause. Age and experience finally dissipate the mist of worldly error, and the meteors that mislead youth gradually die away. Disgusted with having vainly sought happiness in those alluring but tumultuous pursuits, that vortex of the world, and the passions, into which we have been hurried, we recollect that there are tranquil pleasures to which we have previously been strangers, and in those pleasures we find the repose we so long have missed. Such is the ordinary course of human

life : those who are accustomed to important avocations are not the less sensible of social happiness, as the prince at that time experienced. The Great Condé, fifty-eight years of age, weighed down by his laurels, cloyed with success, and grown old in glory, was impelled to yield nature that homage which she required, and which he more than any other man was enabled to pay by the brilliant manner in which he employed the high gifts she had bestowed.

On the marriage of the prince de Conti with mademoiselle de Blois, the prince again appeared at court. The Great Condé had never made dress his study ; his garments had always been plain, and his head unpowdered ; he even, contrary to general custom, let a small tuft of hair grow under his lip : this singularity was remarked by his friends, who endeavoured to prevail on him to pay a little more attention to etiquette. No doubt they had chosen a moment, when, as madam de Sévigné expresses herself, *il avoit les pattes nouées comme le lion*.* Condé yielded to persuasion, and when he went to court he surpassed all the courtiers by his good mien ; to their great surprise he was shaved, had his hair powdered, and his coat was garnished with diamonds, as well

* The lion had his claws cut.

as his sword: that tremendous sword! † more accustomed to the honors of victory than the parade of courts. After the celebration of the marriage the prince returned to Chantilly.

The Great Condé, in his retirement, did not 1680. resemble those ambitious men whom chance has placed in a conspicuous situation, and who toward the end of their career, assume the mask of philosophy, to conceal the decay of their faculties from a world they secretly regret, and whose scrutiny their pride cannot endure. The prince in seeking tranquillity did not become a misanthropist; he was destined in every stage of life to act a shining part on the theatre of glory, and was followed by the homage of Europe no less at Chantilly than he had been at the head of armies.

Having fixed his abode in that beautiful spot, which nature seemed to have designed for the retreat of a great man, Condé employed himself with adding new embellishments, and he cultivated a taste for gardening, rather more at his ease, than he had done at Vincennes, when he watered flower pots in his prison. All the changes and improvements he made bore the stamp of his genius; *minutia* were totally disregarded by him,

† That sword has been preserved in all its simplicity in the armoury at Chantilly, and has a Latin inscription written by Santeuil.

(Note of the Author.)

and nothing gave him delight that was not characterized by grandeur.

He displayed no less elevation of mind in the choice of his society; Chantilly was the rendezvous of illustrious men of every description. Generals, magistrates, ambassadors, men of letters, and artists, were admitted without distinction, and their society was even solicited, provided they were persons of merit. The prince thought nothing beneath his notice except mediocrity: he was master of more than one art or science, and well-informed in all. When he conversed with Créqui, Luxembourg, or Chamilly, he was the hero; with Estrade, Barillon, and Polignac, he was a statesman; he discussed on law with Boucherat or Lamoignon; was a connoisseur with Mansard Le Nôtre or Coisvox; an orator with Bossuet and Bourdaloue; the philosopher with La Bruyère and La Rochefoucauld; and the man of letters with Boileau, Racine, Santeuil, La Fare, mademoiselle de Scudéry, madam de La Fayette, and many other persons of merit, whom posterity remembers with additional veneration, as having formed the society of that great prince.

The celebrated Molière, to whom the prince had been greatly attached, died in 1673: a sorry rhymster, who incessantly troubled the Great Condé with his insipid productions, one day pre-

sented him the epitaph of that celebrated writer ;
“ Ah friend,” said the prince, “ I must own, I would rather Molière had brought me thine.”

Dull people in particular were insupportable to the prince : there happened to be in his time a man of that description at Paris, whom Condé, consequently, could not endure. One day as that person was advancing to accost him, the prince could not forbear saying to those around him : “ If I had known there were two such men in France, I really believe I should not have had the courage to return.”

Amid the occupations proper to charm his re- 1681 ;
treat, Condé did not forget one the most necessary and delightful—that of benevolence. The unfortunate approached him with confidence, and retired contented ; he did not wait till the groans of indigence were rung in his ear ; he sought misery to afford relief, and the power of doing good was a more exquisite source of happiness than the transcendent glory by which he was encircled.

The illness of the maréchal de Grammont, with whom the prince had maintained a steady friendship, snatched the Great Condé awhile from the tranquil pleasures which Chantilly afforded : he flew to his friend, whom he attended night and day, with unremitting assiduity. He infused hope into the sick man, soothed the afflicted family, and brought the physicians to act in con-

cert : in short, the maréchal was indebted for his recovery to the exertions of the most zealous of friends.

The prince, on his return to Chantilly, resumed his accustomed occupations, and, always uniting the useful with that which delights, presided over the education of his grandson, the duke de Bourbon, who proved himself, in the sequel, the worthy pupil of such a master : he performed miracles of valor at Steinkirk, and determined the victory of Nerwinde.

1682. Louis XIV. who seized every favorable opportunity to aggrandize his legitimated offspring, wished to unite mademoiselle de Nantes to the duke de Bourbon, and the princes thought it their duty to express their respect and submission to that great monarch : the union was solemnized, and it seemed to increase the attachment and kindness of Louis to that branch of his house. He presented the duke de Bourbon with the survivorship of the charge of grand-master of France, and that of the government of Burgundy, and came to Chantilly with his whole court, where he was received by the Great Condé as sumptuously as in 1671, when he honored the prince with his company.

1683.
1684.
1685.

In the autumn of life, disgusted with the world, and feeling the want of tranquillity, we seek that happiness which calm philosophy bestows ; but

in a more advanced age, when our reason, and still oftener our infirmities, warn us of our approaching dissolution, we find philosophy is of itself insufficient. Then, impelled by the love of existence, assailed by the dread of annihilation, and led on by the daring fecundity of the human intellect, our thoughts soar beyond that world for which we feel we shall soon cease to live. Religious awe, strongly impressed on our infant organs, but stifled by the passions as our faculties develope, naturally returns when the organs begin to decay.

The prince, who had now attained his sixty-fourth year, had for many years ceased to practice the duties of religion, though his indevotion simply rose from his doubts. As much averse to impiety as to superstition, he had, through life, preserved an equal balance between faith and incredulity; but the conversion of the princess palatine, the edifying death of the prince de Conti, and especially that of the dutchess de Longueville, produced more effect in a short space of time than forty years of previous examination and inquiry. That princess, whose errors and evil counsel had so banefully influenced the conduct of the Great Condé, during her illness, frequently expatiated in his presence on the pious feelings with which she had long been imbued; and when she expired, seemed rather to soar to supreme happiness than

to experience the last evil of human nature. Nothing that bore the stamp of greatness and immortality, could fail to impress the Great Condé with veneration. He could not think that virtue so dignified was destined to be buried in eternal night, and the grandeur of religion persuaded him of its truth.

The conversion of the prince, however, made little alteration in the manner of living which he had for some time adopted. Is not the morality which the scriptures teach that of the noble mind? Is it our interest to make invidious distinctions between virtuous men? Do not religion and true philosophy equally seek the happiness of mankind? Why should we declaim against the cause, when the effects are equally beneficial? Is not the hand of benevolence as succourable as that of piety? Are not the patience of wisdom and the resignation of religion under affliction alike meritorious in our eyes? Is not the true philosopher, like the true Christian, characterized by purity of heart and forbearance? Condé knew how to unite philosophy and Christianity; enlightened by reflexion and experience, the atonement he made was no less glorious than his errors had been dignified: he did not, like too many others, bury his regret in the solitude of an oratory, but heaped benefactions on

those provinces which had the most suffered by the war. Such was the conversion of a great man.

That same year the princes de Conti, his nephews, who had acquired renown in the campaigns of Hungary, made their escape from the court to reap fresh laurels. Louis XIV. however, who had before reluctantly suffered them to expose their lives in defence of the house of Austria, recalled the princes, and Condé wrote them a pressing letter to obey the king's orders. On their return, they were disgraced, and retired to Chantilly; the eldest, however, obtained permission to appear again at court; but, soon after his repeal both that prince and his consort caught the small pox at Fontainbleau. Condé hastened thither, and had the affliction to lose his nephew.

Madam de Maintenon, who at that time had reached the pinnacle of favor, but was not raised to the supreme rank, paid the most assiduous attentions to the young princess, daughter to the king, whom she officiously attended. It was on this occasion that Condé, approaching madam de Maintenon one day whispered in her ear: "*Courage madam, courage! your fortune is not yet made.*"

The sceptics, grieved at having lost a partisan, whom they had considered as their strongest support, everywhere asserted that the intellectual powers of the prince were much weakened; but the

circumstances attending his death soon proved that his mental energy existed in all its force, and that the religious fervor with which he had for some time been penetrated, not from weakness, but conviction, had not impaired that tranquillity and presence of mind which had never deserted him, even amid the greatest dangers.

1688.

The dutchess de Bourbon, in her turn, was attacked by the small pox. Condé, whose heart was truly paternal, though in a bad state of health, immediately hastened to Fontainbleau, where his grand-daughter then was. He was met on the road by the duke de Bourbon, and his sister, whom the king had sent to Paris, that they might not breathe the contagious air of that cruel malady; they were alarmed at the palid countenance of the prince, and endeavoured, but in vain, to dissuade him from continuing his route. When he reached Fontainbleau, the fatigue of the journey, and that of being daily carried to the apartment of his grand-daughter, added to anxiety and the unwholesome air, soon brought on a rapid decay. Louis XIV. one day was going to enter the sick chamber of the princess; Condé rose to prevent him, the effort made him ill; and this mark of attachment, which hastened his death, was not the last he gave.

Louis XIV. on his return to Versailles, under-

went a dangerous operation ; that monarch though suffering the most acute pains incessantly inquired after the prince, who on his part felt more anxious concerning the health of the king than his own. He sent the duke D'Enghien four times to Versailles, telling that prince " he did not doubt his affection, but that nothing ought to supersede his loyalty." Such was the enthusiastic respect, if I may be allowed the expression, which Louis XIV. then inspired, that filial piety, even in the eyes of a father, appeared a less sacred duty than that which a prince and a subject owed to his sovereign.

The prince daily grew worse ; he heard his approaching dissolution announced by one of the physicians, whom he had requested to speak openly, and without fear, and from that moment devoted himself to the duties of a good father, and a pious christian. He sent for his son and his nephew ; the dutchess D'Enghien wished that the duke de Bourbon might likewise be present, but he would not consent ; alleging " that he was an only son, that his days were precious, and that he ought not to be exposed to the contagion of bad air." He dictated his will with his accustomed presence of mind. After having satisfied the duties of the father, the master, the prince, and the friend, Condé made a separate bequest of fifty thousand crowns to Gourville. That faith-

ful follower, however, when he had the act legally registered, omitted the legacy to himself; and, when the prince, in the most friendly manner, reproached him for this omission, Gourville replied: "That he was overpaid by the excess of his master's kindness, and that he wished for no other benefit than the good-will of the princes, his children." Condé remembered the poor in his will; neither did he forget the provinces which had suffered by the civil war, though he had before befriended them; and he left fifty thousand crowns to build a parochial church, at Chantilly.

Having dictated his last will, he wished to write to the king, but his weakness not allowing him, he dictated a letter, in which, after making protestations of constant attachment to his majesty, he earnestly solicited Louis to permit his nephew, the prince de Conti, to return to court. The prince desired this letter should not be delivered till he should be dead: he then finished settling his affairs, and requested his son, whose tenderness and virtues he well knew, to supply any omission he might have made.

Toward eleven o'clock at night he dozed in his chair about two hours; when he awoke, he asked for his confessor; but, as father Deschamps had not then arrived, he confessed to father Bergier. That jesuit, as is usual, exhorted him to pardon

his enemies: "Ah!" said the Great Condé, "why speak of pardon; you know I never retained the slightest resentment against any man."

Before he could receive the last sacraments, the catholic religion required that he should make a public apology for the scandal his past infidelity had occasioned. Being too much exhausted to utter this apology himself, his confessor, at his desire, delivered it in the terms that were conformable to custom and Christian humility. He then received the last unction, and his piety was not disturbed by the loud sorrows of his afflicted family.

Almost immediately after this awful ceremony had taken place, the duke D'Enghien arrived from Versailles, with the pleasing information that the king, out of respect to the Great Condé, pardoned the prince de Conti. The prince still continued alive to pleasurable emotion, and satisfaction beamed on his dying countenance. He told his son he could not have brought him more pleasing intelligence, and asked for the letter which he had dictated, that his grateful acknowledgments might be added.

His worldly and Christian duties being now fulfilled, the prince yielded without restraint to paternal tenderness: he soothed and conversed an hour with his son, to whom he had always been tenderly attached: he then asked for the dutchess D'Enghien, and, causing every body to retire,

exhorted the duke and his consort to always live in that harmony by which they had hitherto been united. After giving them advice, founded on the experience of an eventful life, he embraced his children with that touching effusion of sensibility which never dies in the virtuous and feeling heart: they kneeled at his feet, drowned in tears, and asked his blessing, which he bestowed.

When the prince said; "*My son, you will soon have no father,*" the duke D'Enghien, who was at his feet, overcome with tenderness and grief, swooned away: on his recovery he threw himself in his father's arms, and conjured the prince "to forgive him any offence, he might have committed." "You have been as good a son," replied Condé, "as I have endeavoured to be a father." He then recommended his household to the duke: they requested to see the prince for the last time. Condé did not shrink from the desolating spectacle; he suffered them to come; he was no doubt moved by the grief, consternation, and despair, which his numerous attendants displayed, but nothing could shake the stoic fortitude of his soul.

The fatal moment slowly approached; he asked "how long he might possibly survive?" and was told, "that God alone could decide." He was resigned, recited some prayers, and consoled his afflicted children: his soul was now absorbed in

his family and his God. At this awful crisis the prince de Conti arrived, and the Great Condé had the happiness to see him before he died: he begged him to approach, and, embracing his nephew and son, exhorted them always to live united, and to be faithful to God and the king. Those around him, fearing that his sensibility would hasten his dissolution, turned his attention to religion: he dismissed his family, and conversed with father Deschamps, his confessor; but his children intreated to be again admitted, and he could not deny them. He gave directions concerning the manner of his burial to the duke D'Enghien, renewed his paternal advice, embraced him for the last time, and then begged him to retire, as he felt his strength began to fail. From that moment, he only thought of his salvation: he gave the noblest examples of piety and repentance, preserved his understanding to the last moment, and expired on Monday, December 11, at seven in the morning!

The duke D'Enghien, who had retired into an adjoining apartment, alarmed by the movement he heard, wished to enter his father's room; he was however at first prevented, and conveyed to his apartments, but it was found impossible to retain him: he forced his way to the chamber, knelt at the bed-side of his father, whose face was covered with a handkerchief, and exclaimed, while tears flowed

in torrents, "*Oh God! is that my father? This is all then that remains of that great man!*" It was with difficulty they could force him from the excruciating spectacle, which became more heart-rending by the presence of the dutchess D'Enghien and the prince de Conti.

The wretched and faithful Gourville, whom his duty obliged to think of every thing in that dreadful moment, ordered a carriage, and, availing himself of the influence which tried attachment and fidelity acquire over the upright mind, persuaded the princes to depart for Paris. They met the duke and dutchess de Bourbon on the road, whom they took with them.

When the letter of the prince was given to Louis XIV. that monarch exclaimed,---" I have lost the greatest man in my kingdom." Vanity, perhaps, had as great a share in this exclamation as regret; but fortunate are the subjects whom the sovereign thus honors.

Agreeably to his request, the corpse of the prince was transported to Valery, the diocese of Sens, to be interred with his ancestors; where the ceremony was performed with all the pomp which was his due; and his heart was deposited in the church of the Jesuits of the Rue Saint-Antoine, at Paris, now the parish de Saint-Louis.* A service was solemnized in honor of

* When I deposited the heart of my uncle, the count de Clermont, in the same place, I was shown all the enamelled boxes,

the prince at Notre-Dame, where the illustrious Bossuet gained the summit of celebrity by the funeral oration he made, in which he successfully explored the vast field, which the exploits of the Great Condé had opened to eloquence.

Thus ended the glorious career of that great prince, with whose fame the earth still resounds! On his first entrance into the world, he attracted the attention and applause of Europe.

Conqueror at Rocroi, at an age when it is a merit to aspire to future victory, he at once triumphed over the procrastination of timidity, the counsels of ambition, the valor of the enemy, and the inexperience of youth. At Friburg, equally brilliant, and still more astonishing, by his perseverance and courage, during three days, he surmounted obstacles of every kind which

in which the hearts of our ancestors are preserved; and I, as well as the persons with me, remarked, that the box which contained that of the Great Condé, was double the size of the rest. Perhaps the man who made the casket meant to allude to the moral heart of the prince; or perhaps that part of his body might really be larger than common. I cannot decide, but, in any case, this singularity appeared to me worthy of remark.†

Note of the Author.

† His highness would not have been surprised at the difference he remarked, relative to the heart of the Great Condé, if he had frequently attended anatomical dissections: he would then have observed, that in timid, cowardly, and selfish persons, that part is generally very much closed; whereas, in the brave, the loyal, and the generous, it is exceedingly dilated.

Note of the Parisian Editor.

combined to oppose his plans. The strongest entrenchments, the most impenetrable abbatis, the most obstinate and vigorous resistance, the weariness of his troops, the steepness of mountains, the thickness of the woods, the darkness of the night, all, in short, seemed to render success impracticable ; yet they all were forced to yield to his efforts and his courage.

The year after, for Condé seemed to live but to triumph, at Norlingue he attacked two of the most famous generals in Europe, Mercy and John de Wert, in the most formidable position ; and, by his skilful dispositions, the justness of his eye, and the impetuosity of his valor, again obtained a victory, contrary to the advice of the great Turenne, whose prudence opposed that battle, but whose submission, frankness, and courage highly contributed to its success.

In the three following years, we see him give an example of valor, subordination, and self-command ; but the favorite of victory soon immortalized himself a fourth time in the plain of Lens. On that famous day, which saved France, he owed his triumph less perhaps to the valor of his arm, than to the prudent and sage manner in which he employed his talents and genius.

Cabal and envy soon, however, overbalanced esteem and gratitude, and the hero of France was cast into prison, like the vilest of criminals.

Weak and unhappy queen! Insolent and crafty minister! Could you imagine that, by depriving him of freedom, you could degrade so great a prince? The celebrated man sometimes only owes his fame to circumstances; the reputation of a hero may, perhaps, be obtained or lost by chance; but the great man depends entirely upon himself. No change can lessen his superior excellence; equally great in prosperity or adversity, he ennobles the gifts of fortune, and is ennobled by her persecution. Such was the Great Condé through life; alternately subduing the enemies of the state, and sinking under his own, and, at last, gloriously abjuring his errors restored to the high prerogatives of his birth, and supported by the homage of the French and the admiration of the world.

France would at no period have withdrawn the love and gratitude which that great prince claimed, had not the misery of the times, the evil counsel of his friends, the cabals of cardinal de Retz, the character of Anne of Austria, and the duplicity of Mazarin, hurried him into those errors which no doubt increased his celebrity, but which his glory disavows. In times of turbulence, when the interests of the mighty clash, and whole empires are convulsed by civil commotion, great men are governed by great events; and moderation, a virtue as rare it is necessary, is then

mistaken for weakness or mediocrity, by elevated minds.

The Great Condé could not escape the gulph, which opened beneath his feet! He fell into those errors to which the preceding reigns had opened the fatal career, and Frenchmen, in consternation at losing their defender, nevertheless could not weep at the success of a hero, in whose glory they had hitherto participated. But we will draw a veil over this epocha, and conceal, if possible, the laurels which the prince so reluctantly reaped, when combating against the court, under those that he gathered in serving the state.

At length, the fury of faction cooled, Condé returned to his duty; and, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, France recovered at once her hero and her glory. The merit and celebrity of the prince had not been eclipsed by circumstances; he preserved his native energy amid the sweets of repose, and in his leisure hours formed new plans of conquest. He meditated that of Franche-Comté, proposed and undertook the enterprize, and in a fortnight subdued the whole country.

A new war was crowned with new success; the active ambition of Louis XIV. projected the destruction of Holland, and the most haughty of monarchs only thought he could make vengeance secure by serving under the orders of the greatest of his subjects. Wesel surren-

dered; Rees and Emmerick bowed to the law of the conqueror; an impetuous river vainly opposed his plans; his genius and audacity were not to be mastered; the enemy were forced to yield to his courage, and the majestic waves of the Rhine could not stop the rapidity of his exploits. Covered with blood, that hero continued to combat, and did not think of his own preservation till he had made victory secure: his wound obliged him to quit the army, but the guardian genius of France watched over days so precious, and so often exposed in her defence.

Condé was soon enabled to render new services to the nation; he flew to the succour of Alsatia and Lorraine, which were threatened with invasion; and his talents secured the safety of the kingdom. This was not all; his firmness, patience, and humanity preserved to the state thousands of her defenders, who were sinking under the weight of fatigue and disease, the victims, as it too frequently happens, of the avarice, the neglect, or the barbarity of men.

The following campaign presents a picture still more affecting: we find the Great Condé exercising the sensibility which is so rare and so precious in heroes: that formidable prince, who, hitherto had seemed to think victory the most glorious claim of war, shows himself the most humane of conquerors, and weeps over the mise-

ries which mistaken and barbarous policy inflicts on newly acquired subjects. While they were the enemies of France, he combated and subdued them; but, having conquered, he looked on them as fellow creatures in distress, and brought them consolation and relief. People of the Netherlands, raise your voice with mine, to exalt the humanity of a hero, whose heart has too long been deemed insensible. Your misfortunes have sufficiently attested his fame; let your gratitude proclaim his virtues! Can sensibility in heroic souls be weakened by renown? Oh, no! the happiness of man is to them a more flattering trophy than the misery of nations.

Condé wished to form subjects for his sovereign, but Louvois only demanded slaves; and Louis XIV. more proud than humane, in success, forgot that the conqueror, who protects the subdued foe, is not the less terrible to the enemies he has to subdue.

Condé turned even the inaction to which he was condemned by Louis XIV. or rather his minister, to advantage, and ruined the projects of the allies: he saved the *maréchal de Bellefond*, and soon reaped fresh laurels at *Senef*.

That memorable day which conferred as much honor on the nation as on their hero, witnessed the summit of valor and audacity. In three sanguinary battles, one alone of which would

have immortalized an ordinary warrior, the Great Condé made fifteen charges at the head of his brave soldiers: but his courage was always regulated by genius, and, amid tumult and confusion, he never for a moment lost that presence of mind which knows how to select positions, and which seizes the critical instant when valor may strike with success.

Among the numerous victories of the prince, envy has chosen the battle of Senef to accuse him, before the tribunal of posterity, with having shed unnecessary blood: that the lives of men ought not to be wantonly sacrificed is a truth, which generals cannot too frequently be told, to moderate their ardor, and encourage prudence; but it is perhaps still more necessary to recall this truth to the mind of sovereigns. When the latter have kindled the torch of war, they ought to be answerable for its destructive effects; for, on those important occasions, when the laurels of victory are inevitably reaped amid the horrors of carnage, the first duty of the general, to whom the interests of an empire are entrusted, is to conquer.

To render the prince still more odious or guilty, that well known saying, referring to the number of soldiers killed in battle---“*Well! sire, this is but the work of a night for Paris,*” has been attributed to him; but there exists no proof

that this ill-timed pleasantry escaped the Great Condé. In virtuous men, energy does not degenerate into cruelty of character: beside the actions of that hero, on every occasion, have borne as little tendency to severity as to weakness. The saying in question has been attributed to several other generals, and to the *maréchal de Villars*, in particular; and this uncertainty seems to prove that the tale was forged by calumny, which used this invidious arm on more than one occasion. Those victories which are the most contested, necessarily are most sanguinary, and envy always endeavours to turn the public attention on the evils of war, to tarnish the glory of the conqueror.

That tried valor, intrepid courage, and enlightened audacity, which are almost always crowned with success, suffice to the glory of the hero, but are not sufficient to immortalize the great captain. Condé, in Flanders, ruined all the plans of the prince of Orange, whose army was superior in force to his own; but he was soon called by Louis XIV. into Alsatia; by the death of one man the kingdom was exposed to the danger of invasion. And who could replace Turenne but the Great Condé? On this occasion we see that prince, the only warrior, perhaps, to whom experience could counsel temerity, abjure the burning impetuosity of his genius to adopt all

the wisdom of his predecessor ; and the shade of Turenne astonished, is no less delighted to have contributed, by example, to the glory of the Great Condé.

Brilliant from his youth, energetic and renowned in the prime of life, Condé spread a mild and majestic lustre on its decline. There are other laurels beside those of victory, less splendid but more pure, and they were not disdained by the prince. His understanding, knowledge, and celebrity, made him sought by all that were most illustrious in France. The noble and the valiant, the orator, the sage, the man of letters, and the artist, were eager in competition to embellish his retreat ; and that great man, in seeking to retire from fame, again reaped her laurels in the bosom of tranquillity.

The object of universal homage, he was gratified, without being dazzled, by his glory. In the bosom of grandeur, Condé sought that class of men who, in retirement, seemed equally condemned to obscurity and indigence : oppressed innocence, necessitous merit, and timid misfortune, experienced the effects of his generous sensibility ; and the conqueror of nations became the benefactor of men.

In despite of qualities so elevated, this hero, though he would have forced our admiration, would have less merited our esteem, had he stifled

the feelings of nature while he rose superior to human weakness; but, amid the great events by which he was harassed, we see him always tenderly interested in the welfare of his family; he carefully presided over the education of his son; surrounded by carnage and peril, he gave him striking lessons in that destructive but, alas, necessary art, in which Condé so highly excelled. He was affectionate to, and confided in, his brother; had nearly fallen a victim to the tenderness he bore his sister, and his friends and relations equally experienced the candor and goodness of his heart.

There still remained one species of glory, which the Great Condé had yet to attain: religion seemed to refuse her palm to adorn that august head, which victory and virtue so long had crowned with laurels. The edifying and courageous death of the dutchess de Longueville struck that great prince with surprise and admiration; he wavered, and incredulity trembled; he decided, and religion triumphed. No doubt, it behoved the Majesty of God, that a man, who was among the most glorious of his works, should become the most fervent of his adorers. . . . Must virtues so exalted fall a sacrifice to paternal tenderness? The small-pox exercised its ravages at Fontainbleau; the dutchess de Bourbon was reduced to the brink of the grave. Condé, enfeebled by bodily pain and ill-health, learned the

danger of his grand-daughter, at Chantilly. . . .

Anxiety superseded all other suffering; he consulted neither his strength nor his condition; deaf to the remonstrances of his friends, his household, and his children, he only listened to the voice of sensibility. Death spared the princess to seize another victim; ready to strike, she stops, amazed at her power, and hesitates to cut off the thread of those precious days, marked by grandeur, consecrated to glory, and immortalized by virtue; but virtue itself cannot change the decrees of fate! The grave opens — Condé sinks, and the most manly genius glories in dying like a Christian hero!

Let us, even at this distant period, offer a just tribute of tears to the memory of a hero, whom all Europe judged worthy of regret. What mortal, indeed, ever had a greater claim to the veneration of mankind? A famous warrior, an illustrious prince, an enlightened man, a tender father, and a faithful friend, every exalted virtue and elevated quality were united in Condé; his character, unique in the annals of the world, would appear fabulous to those who had not read his history. Full of genius and information, of talents and modesty, of grandeur and affability, Condé was at once the warrior and the man of feeling, impetuous and thoughtful, profound and dissipated, a rebel and a patriot. He loved war

and the sciences, activity and repose, pleasure and business. He inspired, at the same time, attachment and jealousy, esteem and hatred, interest and terror; and, in whatever, point of view he is presented, by history, he always appears its greatest ornament: he throws lustre on every picture, and gives dignity to trifles; he interests our affections, seduces our reason, and hurries away our feelings, by the splendor in which he envelops time, place, actions, and men.---Frenchmen, princes, warriors, unite with me to cherish the memory of this hero! Pay homage to his genius, imitate his virtues, avoid his errors, and let us mutually rejoice that our country has given birth to a prince, whose existence will have conferred immortal honor on the blood of monarchs, the list of heroes, and the age of great men!

THE END.

LETTERS
OF
THE GREAT CONDÉ,

DOCUMENTS
REFERRED TO AT THE END OF THE WORK.

FUNERAL ORATION

OF
THE GREAT CONDÉ.



LETTERS

OF

LOUIS DE BOURBON,

SECOND OF THE NAME,

SURNAMED

THE GREAT CONDÉ,

TO THE

[PRINCE, HIS FATHER,

DURING THE YEARS 1635, AND 1636.

LETTERS, ETC.



LETTER I.

DOMINE MI PATER,

TERTIUM Institutionum Librum jam propè perlegimus, venimusque ad titulum de mandato. Jucundum sanè mihi, cui nihil suaviùs esse potest, quàm obtemperare mandatis tuis. Parent etiam alii quibus præcepisti ut venationi vacare me permetterent, cum id temporis serenitas permetteret, illud enim jam frequentius ex mandato tuo permittunt quod beneficio tuo sicut omnia debere me profiteor. Quod Dei donum est, firmatur in dies ætas mea, ut tibi meliùs servire ac faciliùs præceptis tuis possim obsequi.

Domine mi Pater,

Celsitudinis tuæ,

Servus humillimus et Filius

Semper obsequentissimus,

LUDOVICUS BORBONIUS.

Morono, 22 Octobris, 1635.

LETTERS, ETC.

LETTER I.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

I HAVE almost finished the third Book of the *Institutes of Justinian*, and am now reading the chapter of precepts: I find much amusement in this study, because it is my greatest delight to obey your orders. Those whom you desired to procure me the pleasures of the chace, whenever the weather would permit, are likewise very attentive in conforming to your desire: they indulge me in this amusement more frequently; and for this new recreation I am again indebted to your tenderness! My health, by the grace of God, daily improves; so that I shall better acquit myself of my duty, and more easily fulfil your wishes.

I am, my Lord and Father,
The very humble Servant,
And most obedient Son
Of your Highness,
LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Montrond, October 22, 1635.

LETTER II.

DOMINE MI PATER,

DECIMO quinto kalendas Novemb., Morono redii ; dissimulare non possum sensus animi mei ; cui enim candidiùs loquerer, quàm Parenti optimo ! Non sine dolore locum amænissimum reliqui, cujus ne vel levissimum quidem fastidium fecerat trium propè mensium commoratio ; invitabat quoque ad longiorem moram serenitas temporis, et adolescentis autumnus jucunda temperies ; at parare oportebat imperiis tuis, quibus toto vitæ decursu, cariùs mihi atque antiquiùs erit nihil. Cæterùm, satis valeo si vales, sum enim de tuâ valetudine sollicitus, cum à multis diebus nihil certi inaudierim : Deum precor ut te mihi servet incolumem. Vale,

Domine mi Pater,

Celsitudinis tuæ,

Servus humillimus et Filius

Observantissimus,

LUDOVICUS BORBONIUS.

Biturgibus, 1 Nov. 1635.

LETTER II.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

I QUITTED Montrond the 18th of October. I cannot dissemble my feelings ; with whom indeed can I more agreeably converse than with the best of fathers ? It was not without regret that I left that charming spot, where my amusements were never alloyed by a moment's lassitude. The fineness of the weather, and youthful jocund autumn, invited me to prolong my stay ; but your commands, which through life I shall hold most sacred, were my law. I continue to be in good health as I hope you are ! but I have for some days felt uneasy at receiving no certain intelligence on that subject. May God watch over and preserve you !

I am, my Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most respectful Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Bourges, Nov. 1, 1635.

LETTER III.

DOMINE MI PATER,

AUDIVI sæpè numerò illud operæ longioris esse negotia, quæ cum pluribus tractanda sunt; quot enim inter homines capita tot firmè sunt sensus, quamobrem si cum multis hominibus res agenda sit, vix tandem efficias: ita omnes in eundem sensum conveniunt, ut dissideat nemo; ejusmodi est illud opus; quod autoritate tuâ ita provectum est ut tantum non fuerit confectum, de Bituricensi theologiâ toti Academiæ corpori inserendâ: quas difficultates moliti sunt non-nulli, et expertus es et vicisti: alias iterùm tentant nocendi vias quæ præcludi nisi tuo beneficio non possunt; ultimam, ut opinor, manum operi tuo non deneabis, tua est hæc theologia, tu illius parens, à quo illa, nisi a parente, hoc decus aut petat aut expectet, illud si adjeceris, nihil supererit quod alteri debere possit. Ego vero cum illâ hoc tibi beneficium debebo. De cæterò quod scire cupis maximè sic valeo ut finem hodie *Institutionibus Justinianæis* imposuerim feliciter, sic ardentè amo quod imperas ut sim, et habear semper,

Domine mi Pater,
Celsitudinis tuæ,
Servus humillimus et Filius
Semper obsequentissimus,

LUDOVICUS BORBONIUS.

Biturgibus, 21 Novemb. 1635.

LETTER III.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

I HAVE frequently heard it remarked, that when business is entrusted to several persons it is not so expeditiously transacted, for each person thinks differently; for which reason it is very difficult to settle affairs that depend on the suffrages of many. This difficulty has risen respecting the theological chair, which was proposed, under your patronage, to be incorporated to the University. Obstacles were before raised which your wisdom surmounted; others are started which you alone can overcome. You will not, I hope, refuse to put the finishing stroke to your own work! You are the father and protector of the University! From whom can it so properly expect this increase of honor as yourself? If you do not add this benefit to the rest, it is to be feared that the University will have recourse to other persons, who will reap the glory of its advancement. On my own part, I shall feel truly grateful for every mark of favor which you may think proper to bestow. You will no doubt be glad to hear that I this day finished the *Institutes of Justinian*. I take the greatest pleasure in obeying your orders, and with these sentiments I am, and shall always remain,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Bourges, Novemb. 21, 1635.

LETTER IV.

DOMINE MI PATER,

SI plures canes alui, quam necessitas ad venandum requireret, aut voluptas, eam culpam ignoscas primo ardori venationis quo abripiebar; est enim communis omnium error qui vehementiùs aliqua diligere incipiunt, ut multa sine delectu conquirant, quæ postea suâ spontè abjiciant. nondum in me ego hanc errorem cognoveram: at postridie quàm illiùs litteris tuis fui admonitus præter novem quos servari per te licebat, dimisi alios omnes. Ita mihi statim ea fastidio sunt quæ tibi non placent; ita nulli rei meus amor inhærebat nisi tuæ voluntati: feceram hic scribendi finem cum venit ad me D. de Beaujeu, Legionem meam, potius tuam, quinque cohortibus augeri dixit, oravitque, ut unius cohortis vexillum committerem nepoti cui nomen, de Busseuil: opinor, cùm avunculos ejus duos jam elegeris in Legionibus meis duces, eorumque fidem ac virtutem probaveris, nepoti cohortis unius signum non negabis. Eâ sum valetudine quam tibi precibus optat.

Domine mi Pater,

Celsitudinis tuæ

Servus humillimus et Filius

Obsequentissimus,

LUDOVICUS BORBONIUS.

Biturgibus, 23 Decemb. 1635.

LETTER IV.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

It is true that I kept more hounds than necessity, or the pleasures of the chace, required ; but you will pardon this fault, which arose from the ardor with which I first entered into the amusement. It is a mania common to men, when they are in pursuit of any favorite object, to indiscriminately collect, frequently afterward to despise, whatever bears affinity to that pursuit. I was not till now aware of this weakness ; but, the day after your letter arrived, I parted with all my hounds, except the nine which you permitted me to keep. Whatever meets your disapprobation creates disgust, and I have nothing more at heart than to study your wishes. As I was going to conclude my letter M. de Beaujeu came to inform me that five companies had been added to my regiment, or, more properly speaking, yours ; and he asked for the post of cornet in behalf of his nephew, de Busseuil. As you have already promoted two of his uncles, whose zeal and valor have been proved, to the rank of captain in my regiments, you will not refuse this favor to the nephew. I am in good health ; I hope you are, and I remain,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most respectful Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Bourges, Decemb. 23, 1635.

LETTER V.

DOMINE MI PATER,

Ex litteris benè multis quas paucis mensibus ad te dedi, hactenùs nullæ inanes fuerunt; leve aliquot aut grave negotium apud te omnes egerunt: vacuæ istæ incipiunt esse, qui plures sunt qui litteras ad te meas deferre velint; quàm res mihi tecum gerendæ! unum tamen omnes, sive planæ, sive inanes, gerunt, ut me tui observantissimum esse significant, atque has quoniam nihil aliud agunt, eâ observantiæ testificatione plenissimas esse crede. Felicem ex animo tibi annum precor, quia sum.

Domine mi Pater
Celsitudinis tuæ,

Servus humillimus et Filius

Semper observantissimus,

LUDOVICUS BORBONIUS.

Biturgibus, 1 Januarii, 1636.

LETTER V.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

OF all the letters which I have addressed to you for several months past, not one has been written without a motive; I have always had an object more or less interesting in view, but they begin to be of trifling importance, since so many are eager to have some to carry to you. Yet how many things could I say! I shall confine myself to one alone, which is to give you new proofs of my submission and respect in my letters; whether they be, or be not interesting, be assured, that is my ambition. I wish you a happy new year, and am,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Bourges, Jan. 1, 1636.

LETTER VI.

DOMINE MI PATER,

Quærebant à te priores litteræ, an latinâ linguâ in posterum adscriberem, an gallicâ; consuetum morem retineo, dum quid eâ de re constituas, expecto. Aliud etiam est quod petam, an pomeridianum tempus studiis liberum esse velis. Miraberis id a me quæri, neque me silentio uti tuo tanquam vacandi facultate; verum non ita mihi studendi labor insuetus est, aut injucundus, quin admodum placeat, si jubeas ei me incumbere, neque ita jucundus, quin eum libenter dimittam, si dimitti velis: itaque quidquid, eâ super re, statues, sequar, non invitus. Vale,

Domine mi Pater,

Celsitudinis tuæ,

Servus humillimus et Filius

Semper observantissimus,

LUDOVICUS BORBONIUS.

Biturgibus, 8 Januarii, 1636.

LETTER VI.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

I asked you in my last, if I should in future write in Latin or French ; till your answer comes, I shall follow my usual method. I have another request to make, which is, that you will permit me to suspend my literary studies in the afternoon. You will be surprised that I mention this to you, and that I do not take your silence for consent ; but application is neither so disagreeable, nor so irksome, as not to give me pleasure, when it is judged necessary by you ; neither has it so much attraction, that I cannot easily abstain from study, if you think proper. Whatever your determination may be, I shall obey with alacrity, and remain,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Bourges, Jan. 8, 1636.

LETTER VII.*

MY LORD AND FATHER,

NEXT to God, I am indebted to you for the honors and testimonies of affection, which I have received in the towns under your government; but I will not suffer this applause to make me forget myself, and fail in the duty and submission which I owe. I am too well aware who I am, and who you are, ever to be so unfortunate as to incur your displeasure, since I wish, through life, to remain,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Auxerre, Feb. 20, 1636.

* The five following letters in the original are written in French.

LETTER VIII.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

I TAKE pleasure in reading of the heroic actions of our monarchs, in history ; those you perform are worthy to be added to the number, and, while they give a noble example, they inspire a holy emulation to tread the same career, when age and instruction shall have made me such as you wish. Were I on the spot to witness the virtues and noble acts which you are called upon to exercise, they would, perhaps, influence my future conduct ; but I must rest satisfied to remain the child of desire, and to pay implicit submission to your will ; *that* shall regulate the life which you gave, as I am,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Dijon, June 2, 1636.

LETTER IX.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

COULD I have my wish I should be at the camp to serve you ; and, had I the power to mitigate your sufferings, and sympathize in your anxious cares, it would be a consolation to me ; since I cannot but feel great uneasiness, knowing the continual dangers to which you are exposed, and the martyrdom which the gravel inflicts. But I can only offer my prayers to God for your preservation, with that affection with which I remain,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Dijon, June 2, 1636.

LETTER X.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

I WISH, for my own peace of mind, that my age would permit me to be near you, to alleviate your pain, and guard you from the evident perils to which you are exposed, and which keep me in continual apprehension; but I am only allowed to pray to God for your preservation, being,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most respectful Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

Dijon, June 7, 1636.

LETTER XI.

MY LORD AND FATHER,

ON my departure you pointed out the conduct I should pursue to gain general goodwill; the kindness with which I have been treated, out of respect to you, by Messieurs D'Avalon has enforced the utility of your injunctions, which I shall strictly observe. I cannot describe the cordial welcome I received from mademoiselle la Grand-Mère,* and the hospitality I have experienced at her house. I shall endeavour to occasion as little inconvenience as possible. I have but one affliction, which is to know you are exposed to the dangers of war, and the infection of disease. May God preserve you from both, with that affection with which I remain,

My Lord and Father,

The very humble Servant,

And most obedient Son

Of your Highness,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

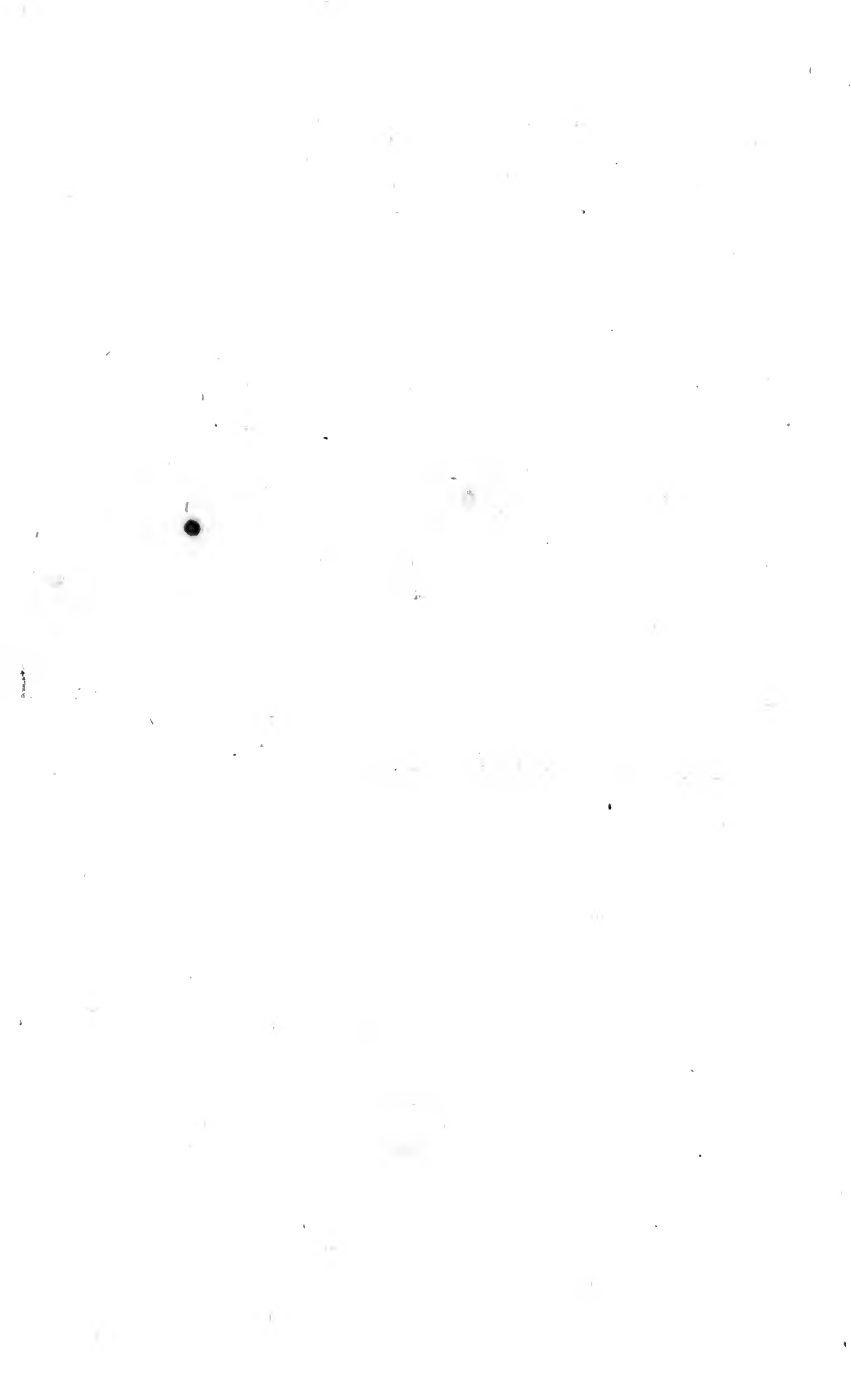
D'Avalon, Sept 7, 1636.

* No doubt, a proper name.

DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO

AT THE END OF THE MEMOIRS.



DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO AT THE END OF THE

MEMOIRS.

P. 109. *The Arrêt issued by Parliament,
August 2, 1651.*

THE Arrêt was thus : “ That the queen should suppress the declaration of the king, and of the duke D’Orléans; that she should clear the prince from the imputations published against him ; and that the prince should approach the king’s person, to assist him, as usual, by his counsels and intelligence.

P. 139. *The Reply made by the Great Condé to
the Pretensions of the Archduke Leopold.*

The prince coolly answered : That the princes of the blood of France only yielded the precedence to kings ; that all he could do in behalf of the

archduke, the son and brother of an emperor, was to consent to be treated on an equality, on condition, however, that the archduke would pay him the honors of the Low Countries, and give him the precedence in a third place." '*In the mean while,*' added he, '*I give the ministers of your master four and twenty hours to determine; if, before they are elapsed, I do not receive an answer such as I demand, I will quit Namur and the Low Countries: I will run any hazard rather than consent to degrade and stigmatize those rights my birth claims.*' * *History of the prince de Condé by Desormeaux. Vol. III. p. 402.*

* The contestation concerning the precedence of the princes of the blood of France, over the princes of foreign blood, was renewed, in 1775, on the occasion of the journey which the archduke Maximilian, brother to the queen, at that period made into France: it arose because that prince insisted on being first visited by the princes of the blood, which they unanimously refused. The court took offence at this refusal; on which the princes addressed the following memorial, on that subject, to the king. We thought it might gratify the reader, as it was not made public at the time. We transcribe it from the autographical manuscript, with the original signatures of the parties concerned, as a monument of politics and history.

*Memorial, presented to the King of France, by
the Princes of the Blood, in 1775.*

SIRE,

THE princes of your blood think it their duty to lay before your majesty proofs of the antiquity, solidity, and extent of the privileges, annexed to the crown and family of France, by which their conduct toward the archduke Maximilian, of Austria, has been regulated.

The crown of France, and her monarchs, Sire, have always enjoyed the pre-eminence and precedence over all the crowned heads in Europe.

In the time of Childebert, king of Austrasia, pope St. Gregory wrote thus to that monarch: "In as much as the royal dignity raises him who professes it above all other men, so does the excellence of your crown indubitably exalt it above that of all other nations."*

* "*Quanto cæteros homines regia dignitas antecedit, tanto cæterarum Gentium regna regni vestri profecto culmen excellit.*" S. G. Ep. VII. in the *Recueil des Historiens de France* Tom. IV. p. 17.

Mathew Paris, an English historian, speaking of St. Louis, of whom he was the cotemporary, stiles him "*the king of all earthly kings**," and he says, "*that the dignity of the king of France, was considered superior to that of all other monarchs.*" †

Amé, count of Savoy, in a title of 1397, calls the king of France "*the most great and noble of Christian kings.*" ‡

"If it were possible," said the emperor Maximilian I. "that I could be God, I should wish my eldest son to be God after me, and my second to be king of France." §

Balde, a German jurisconsult, quoted by du Haillan, acknowledges, though a subject of the empire, "that the king of France is the first and greatest of the princes and kings in Christendom.||

But the superiority of the crown of France, in all ages, has been too well known to make it necessary to multiply the authorities on which it is established. The imperial crown, supporting

* "*Dominus Rex Francorum, qui terrestrium Rex Regum est.*" Mathew Paris; 1254.

† *Rex Francorum Regum censetur dignissimus.* Idem, anno 1255.

‡ Ducange, 29, *Dissertation sur Joinville.*

§ Jérôme Bignon, *de L'Excellence des Rois et Royaume de France.* p. 487.

|| *De l'Etat et Succès des Affaires de France :* by Du Haillan. p. 278.

itself on the phantom of Roman grandeur, was the only one that pretended to claim precedence over France. The empire obtained this privilege for its ambassadors, but, when the person of the sovereign has been called into question, the kings of France have not even ceded to the emperors, but treated them as their equals.

The author of the *Grandeur de la Maison de France*, observes, that Robert, king of France, and the emperor, Henry II. were upon this equality in their interview on the Maese; and that Philippe-Bel and another Henry observed the same conduct, on their frontiers. He remarks that Charles V. though he was crowned emperor, ceded the precedence to Francis I, in 1521, at the conference of Calais: he adds, that, when our monarchs and the emperors were together in narrow passes, they walked side by side, without precedence; and that, if our sovereigns have occasionally paid honor to the emperors, it was but the mere deference of civility, and never an act of duty and necessity.*

When pope Gregory IX. in 1239, offered the empire of Germany to Robert of France, the count D'Artois, brother to St. Louis, the barons of France returned the following answer to the nuncios of his holiness, " that it was sufficient

* *Grandeur de la Maison de France.* p. 86, 87, 108.

for the count D'Artois to be the brother of so great a monarch as the king of France, whom they esteemed more excellent than any emperor whatsoever.* Such was the high opinion which Frenchmen had in those early times of their sovereigns; and that sentiment, as we have seen, was not peculiar to them.

This superiority over the other crowns of Europe, which is claimed by the sovereigns of France, while it is derived from the power of the crown, at the same time supports and extends that power, by the impression which this feeling of pre-eminence makes on the understanding and hearts of men; those of the French in particular, who glory in it. It increases their respect for, and attachment to their sovereigns, whom they consider as the depositaries and guardians of that grandeur which stimulates the honor of the nation by whom it is possessed, and awes other nations in proportion. The importance of this advantage, in appearance purely moral, has on various occasions been sensibly felt by many of our kings. Louis XIV. whose reign almost throughout was glorious, would sooner have risked the loss of his kingdom than have submitted to the attempts made at Rome and London, by the ambassadors of the Spanish court,

† “ *Qu'il suffisoit au Comte D'Artois d'être Frère d'un aussi grand Roi que le Roi de France, qu'ils estimoient plus excellent qu'aucun empereur quelqu'il fût.*”

to obtain the precedence over those of France. By the resistance which he opposed to their pretensions, with all the firmness of a monarch instructed in the rights of his crown and the grandeur of his house, as well as with the serious consequences that might result from attempts to lessen them, he at length obtained an official reparation, which will stand a perpetual monument of the superiority of the kings of France, over the other sovereigns of Europe.

This pre-eminence is, in fact, one of the most glorious appendages of the crown, and one of the noblest parts of the inheritance secured to the race of our monarchs.

From this pre-eminence that of our monarchs, in all ages, has been derived; and the superiority which the princes of the house of France claim over all uncrowned princes in Europe, results from the one and the other, added to the inalterable right of the male succession, which is secured to the French princes, according to the order of their birth.

Du Haillan says, "No Christian prince ever questioned the precedence of the house of France till the year 1558; each paid this deference without difficulty, and even the English, in all their ceremonies, have invariably given the house of France the precedence of Spain, though they were the ancient enemies of the former, and the constant friends and allies of the latter."

The same author says, "the princes of the blood have always been held in great honor in France, and everywhere have been so highly respected that, even in foreign countries, they have preceded all other foreign reigning dukes."*

The assertion of that writer is confirmed by facts. In the description of the interview, which took place between the emperor Charles IV. and Charles V. of France, anno 1278, in Paris, an account registered at that time, and since published by *Théodore Godefroy*, we see, that the two princes having met between St. Denis and Paris, the following order was observed. "Afterward came the dukes of Berry and of Burgundy, and between them, in the middle, was the duke of Brabant, brother to the emperor, and uncle to the king†," on which Godefroy made these two observations.

1st. "That in those times, the custom was when three persons walked abreast, that he who was at the right hand had the place of honor, and not the person in the middle."

2d. "That it is worthy of remark that the duke de Berry, brother to the king of France, in this procession, and in all other acts, precedes the duke of Brabant, brother and grandson of two

* *Du Haillan*. "Ubi suprà." p. 278.

† "Venoient après les Ducs de Berry, et entre deux, au milieu, étoit le Duc de Brabant, Frère de L'Empereur et Oncle du Roi."

emperors ; and the reason of this," he adds, " is, that the imperial dignity being only precarious, and elective, and not hereditary in one family, the duke of Brabant had not the claim of succession to the imperial throne, which the duke of Berry had to the French."

In 1420, at the entrance of king Charles VI. into Paris, with Henry V. king of England, Philip-le-Bon, duke of Burgundy, though neither a son nor grandson of France, and only related to the king by the third degree, preceded the brother of the king of England; " and the two monarchs," says Warin, " on horseback, rode gallantly side by side in front, the king of France taking the right hand ; after them came the dukes of Clarence and Bedford,* brothers to the king of England, and on the other side of the street, on the left hand, Philip-le Bon, duke of Burgundy, rode, and after him came the gentlemen and pages of his household."

We find, in the *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*,

* The French is *Clarans and Belfort*. See Translator's preface.

† " *Et chevauchioient, dit Warin, les deux Rois moult noblement de front, l'un d'auprès l'autre, le Roi de France au dextre côté ; et après eux étaient les Ducs de Clarans et de Belfort, Frères du Roi D'Angleterre, et à l'autre côté de la rue à la main senestre, chevauchoit Philippe-le-Bon, duc de Bourgogne, et après lui étaient les Chevaliers et les Ecuyers de Son Hôtel.*"

Chronique de Monstrelet. p. 232. Chronique d'Angleterre, de Jean de Warin, chevalier du Pays d'Artois. Livre 2. chap. 6.

that “ the same Philip-le-Bon, in quality of prince of the blood, in 1440, would not give the precedence to Frederic III. king of the Romans, in the town of Besançon, but bent his body on horseback, when he saw the king of the Romans did not offer to alight.”

This historian, who was then page to the duke of Burgundy, and who had been present at that interview, reflecting a long time after on what he had seen, asked himself, “ Why the duke of Burgundy had not dismounted from his horse, as the other princes of the empire daily did, before the emperor and the king of the Romans?” and satisfied his doubts by the two following reasons : first, that the duke of Burgundy was the great-grandson of king John, and descended on the fathers’ side from the noble bed of the royal house of France ;” secondly, “ that Frederic of Austria was yet only king of the Romans, and not emperor.” It is worthy of observation that Olivier de la Marche was grand master of the house of the emperor Maximilian I. at the time he wrote his *Memoirs*, and that he thought he might pay this homage to the house of France without hazarding the displeasure of that prince.*

About the same period, the council of Bâle adjudged, by a decree, to that very duke of Burgundy the precedence over all the secular electors, and

* *Olivier de la Marche*, p. 68, and following.

made him next in rank to kings, because he was descended from the blood of France, and in consideration of the states which he possessed.*

In 1652, Louis II. prince of Condé, obtained the precedence over Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, a prince the most jealous of his sovereignty of any in that age; and he treated the pretensions of Francis I. duke of Lorraine, who required him to pay the first visit, as chimerical.†

“ In 1653, that prince, in a very critical position, which we cannot recollect without pain, quitted Stenai, and, on his road to Brussels, was stopped at Namur by the gravel and a fever. The Spaniards, seeing him sick, and destitute of money and troops, a vexatious and delicate conjuncture, took it for granted, that the need in which he stood of their succour, would oblige him to relinquish somewhat of his pretensions, as prince of the blood of France, in favor of the archduke Leopold, governor of the Netherlands. To effect this purpose, they held great councils at Brussels; deputies were sent to prevail on the prince to yield the precedence to the archduke, and they laid before him the numerous advantages, or inconveniences, which would result

† *Sainte-Marthe, Histoire de la Maison de France. Tom. I. Livre 12, p. 742.* See likewise *Amelot de la Houssaye. Tom. III. p. 149.*

† See the *Memoirs of Beauveau, Montglat, and of mademoiselle de Montpensier.*

from his acquiescence, or refusal. It would have been a rude trial to a mind less dignified than his."

That prince, whom adversity never lowered, replied more haughtily than while in the height of fortune, "that he was a prince of the blood of France, and that in this quality the utmost he could grant, though the archduke was the son and brother of emperors, was to treat that prince as his equal; that they might act as they pleased, but that, if they did not accept his proposal in twelve hours,* he would quit Namur and the Low Countries; preferring to run any hazard, rather than subject his dignity to the least degradation."

The courts of Vienna and Madrid showed repugnance to submit to these conditions, but at length they yielded; they gave express orders that the prince should everywhere be treated like the archduke. He soon went to Brussels; every thing was regulated to his wish, and he was paid the same honors as the archduke.†

It is affirmed that Louis XIV. on being informed of the generous firmness of the prince de Condé, openly applauded his conduct; and should

* *Twenty-four* hours was the time twice before stated. T.

† *Des Actions mémorables du Prince de Condé: par le Père F. Bergier, Jésuite.* Letter II. p. 283. See likewise *L'Histoire du Prince de Condé*, by Coste, and that of *Desormeaux*, Anno 1653.

this be questioned, we can prove it from a passage in the Funeral Oration of that prince, spoken by command of Louis XIV. by M. Bossuet,* who recited this trait in the centre of Paris, and in the presence of the whole court. The reflexions of a man so celebrated as M. Bossuet are too valuable not to be laid before your majesty in his own language.

“ If he was hurried into those unfortunate wars,” said that prelate, “ this tribute of glory at least is his due; he did not suffer the honor of his blood to be stigmatized in a foreign land. In despite of the majesty of the empire, in despite of the haughtiness of Austria, and the hereditary crowns attached to that house, even in the branch which reigns in Germany, Condé, a refugee at Namur, supported only by his courage and reputation, maintained the claims of a prince of France, and of the first house in the universe, so firmly, that all which could be obtained of him was, that he would consent to treat the archduke, who was the brother of an emperor, and the descendant of so many emperors, as his equal, on condition that he, in a third place, would pay him the honors of the Low Countries. The same treatment was secured to the duke D’Eng-hien, and the house of France maintained its rank even in Brussels.”

* See the beginning of the Funeral Oration.

We see, by these last examples, that the rights of the house of France, in all its branches, and particularly its rank in respect to the house of Austria, must have necessarily been established in all the courts of Europe, since the archduke, and the duke of Lorraine, thought themselves obliged to recognize it in favor of a prince who was in the utmost need of them; and these words of Bossuet—that “*the house of France maintained its rank*,” incontestibly prove, that it had held the most constant possession of those claims.

When the princes de Conti went into Hungary, in 1685, as they passed through Vienna, they asked in what manner the emperor* intended to receive them when giving audience? and, being formed that he would treat them as he did the electors, they departed without seeing the emperor. M. de Dangeau says, “that they departed, though the emperor offered them a chair.”†

The emperor, Charles VII. made the same offer to the prince de Conti, at the beginning of the year 1743, with the rest of the honors which he paid to the electors: but the prince de Conti followed the example of his ancestors, and refused to see the emperor.

In the advice which the prince de Condé gave to the princes above cited, who were his nephews,

* *Mémoires Historiq. d'Amelot de la Houssaye. Tom. II. p. 146.*

† *Mémoires de Dangeau, anno 1689.*

advice by which their conduct was regulated, they were directly ordered to place themselves on an equality with the electors and archdukes, and likewise were recommended to insist on being saluted by the queen of Poland, and to sit in her presence, as well as in that of the king of Poland; "in which manner I was treated," said the Great Conde, "both by the king of Poland and the king of England."

The father of the now surviving prince de Conti received a chair from the queen of Spain, at Bayonne, in 1710, and the present prince de Conti, never visited the queen of Spain, who was here, though she was his sister-in-law, because she hesitated to pay him the same honor.

When the prince of Denmark, afterward king, under the name of Frederick IV. came to the court of France, the prince de Conti would not see him because of the equality to which he pretended; and when it was remonstrated "that Frederic was heir apparent to the crown of Denmark, and that the branch of Conti was very distant from the succession to the throne, he replied "that the crown of France essentially appertained to every prince of the blood, so that the claims of the last were equal to those of the first."*

We likewise see from the ancient authorities

* *Amelot de la Houssaye. Ibid.*

above cited, that in all times this invariable masculine succession has been recognized ; and this principle is very clearly developed by one of our most famous jurisconsults.

Loiseau says : “ The male issue of our kings are named princes, and particularly *princes of the blood*, as being of the blood to which the principality and sovereignty are attached ; and likewise *princes of the crown*, as being annexed to the crown, which is not known,” he adds, “ to any other state in the world ; and consequently, it is my opinion, that there are no real princes except in France.”*

It is these rights, Sire, founded on the grandeur of your state, on the antiquity of the monarchy, on the antiquity of the reign of the house, infinitely superior to that of any other, of which you are the senior and chief ; it is these rights, founded moreover on the unique advantage which what we call the Salique Law confers on the princes of your house ; it is these rights, the precious inheritance of all our race, acknowledged in all ages, maintained during the space of nearly

* “ *Les mâles issus de nos rois, sont appelés princes, et notamment princes du sang, comme étant du sang auquel la principauté et souveraineté est affectée, et encore princes de la Couronne, comme substitués à la Couronne, ce qui n'est connu, je crois, ajoute-t-il, en aucun état du monde : et partant, j'estime qu'il n'y a point de vrais princes qu'en France.*”

Loiseau *Traité des Ord.* ch. 7.

nine hundred years, and defended by our fathers, which the princes of your blood now think it their duty again to defend.

The archduke Maximilian* has come to France. The *incognito* which he assumed could not but leave us to suppose that he would observe, in regard to us, the line of conduct traced to him by innumerable examples, on similar occasions.

The constant usage† in France is, that foreign princes should visit us the first, which the count de Burgaud‡ refused to do: he expected that we should wait on him first; and thus, in some degree, pretended to more than he ought to have done, had he travelled under his own name.

No prince of Europe, Sire, has the right to claim any act of superiority over the princes of your blood, and the princes of Austria as little as any other.

They can neither derive this right from the dutchy of Austria, a fief of the empire, formerly

* Brother to the queen of France.

† The last example was that of the princes of Sweden, who came to Paris in 1771; the prince royal under the name of count Gotland, and his brother Adolphus under that of count Deutland. Those princes, the elder of whom was heir-apparent to the throne, to which he was called during his residence in France, paid us the first visit.

‡ This, no doubt, was the name assumed by the archduke Maximilian.

masculine*, and erected into an arch-dutchy by Frederic III, to give his brother Albert the precedence over the other fiefs of the empire; nor from Tuscany, which represents Lorraine: neither can they derive it from the imperial dignity, which, being elective, cannot place the princes descended from the emperors on an equality with those of France; nor from the kingdom of Bohemia, originally a dutchy†; nor of the kingdom of Hungary, always elective, half dismembered, and only become hereditary in the last century‡. Those two kingdoms, for power and antiquity, cannot be compared to that of your majesty. Beside, the females can inherit to the exclusion of the most distant males; and for that reason those kingdoms, having no princes who are the necessary heirs, have not, properly speaking, true princes of the blood, and cannot give any advantage to those of the house which is in

* The masculine succession was altered by the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI.

† “The kings of Bohemia have served the kings of France, and have been lieutenant-generals in the provinces, particularly in those of Guyenne and Languedoc. King John of Bohemia was killed at the battle of Crecy, combating for France, with Charles, his son, king of the Romans.”

Grandeur de la Maison de France, p. 121. *Daniel, Histoire de France*. Tom. III. p. 318.

‡ The first king of Hungary was crowned in 1020; six hundred years after the foundation of our monarchy.

actual possession of these crowns, over the princes of France.

If the archduke Maximilian had travelled under his own name, we could only have followed the example of the prince de Condé, and treated him as an equal ; and it appears that we have unfortunately given offence to the queen because we have not done more ; while perhaps, to avoid being upon an equality with us, he travelled *incognito*. But as we have proved to your majesty, to pay him greater honor under this *incognito* than we ought to have done in his own name, would be to show him infinitely more, and to abandon one of the most noble appendages of the crown you wear, the glory of which, for that reason alone, would be precious to us, but which we ought to maintain, as having the indubitable claims of succession, and by this title being authorised to preserve the privileges of our race, to which they incontestibly belong.

Two objections, Sire, that are pretended to be very strong, have been made against the validity of the claims, the justice of which has been proved to your majesty. One is derived from a particular family act, perhaps already secretly made, or which the house of Austria has the intention to make, to establish the masculine succession in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which it is said must destroy every doubt concerning the equality between the princes henceforward to be called to

the succession of these kingdoms and those who are attached to the succession of France. But, Sire, till this new pragmatic sanction, the reverse of that given by Charles VI. and destructive of the claims due to the queen, can be law to the people, to the princes of the female line*, and to all Europe, it remains invalid, and can only be consolidated by formalities, acquiescence, and, perhaps, by wars such as were necessary to establish the contrary law in the female posterity of Charles VI. But, granting the masculine succession to be made exclusive, Sire, could the power, extent, and antiquity of this new monarchy, be compared to that of France? Could the kings of Bohemia and Hungary be placed in the rank of your majesty? and could a family-compact in the house of Austria destroy the privileges which the possession of nine hundred years has secured to your crown, your race, and the princes of your blood?

The other objection which has been started is founded on a treaty, which it is pretended was made in the reign of the deceased king, between France, Spain, and Austria, which established equality between the princes of the three powers, according to the order of their birth, and obliged them to cede respectively to each other, each in his own country. Of this treaty, Sire, we never had the least knowledge, and the ministers of

* *Issus par femmes.*

that reign, as well as those of the present, have denied its existence. We can perceive that the house of Austria, continually on the watch for its aggrandizement, has agitated this question in Spain; but our ministers themselves do not say that it was gained; in any case it was not communicated to us. Certainly it is not to be supposed that we could be robbed of a privilege essentially inherent to this throne, the inheritance of which is incontestibly secured to us, and which for more than eight hundred years has established our rank in Europe, without our knowledge. If we had been informed of this pretended treaty at the time, we would have laid those facts before the late king, which we have had the honor to lay before your majesty; we would have represented to him that the pre-eminence of his crown, the lustre of his house, and the dignity which the princes of his blood hold in Europe, established and maintained during so many ages, formed one of the most glorious appendages of that crown; that it was a claim, an inheritance, and a moral attribute as intransferrable as any other of those possessions, more positive or more visible, which are considered as the indivisible and certain patrimony of the race of our monarchs.

Such, Sire, are the principles, the facts, and the reasons, which have prescribed to the princes of your blood the conduct they have maintained to-

ward the archduke Maximilian, as a duty. After the facts they have demonstrated to your majesty, they cannot doubt but you will be convinced that it would be disrespect to your royal person should they acknowledge the superiority of any princes, except those who are immediately called to the throne of France. The nearest claim of inheritance determines the precedence between them*, and the splendor of the throne, which is diffused most on the two first degrees, secure them personal and more distinguished prerogatives, to which the other collateral branches always pay eager homage: but these just prerogatives, derived from the same source, only consolidate without injuring its grandeur, and cannot in the least diminish the advantages which that very principle has in all ages given the house of your majesty over the other families of Europe.”†

The princes of your blood also flatter themselves, Sire, and take the liberty of intreating, that your majesty in approving will deign to sanction their conduct, and express their regret to the queen at not having it in their power to testify,

* The first prince of the blood also enjoys some particular advantages, as well as the chiefs of the hereditary houses.

† Louis XVI. at the time, did not make any statute on the memorial of the princes, who persisting in their claims abstained from seeing the archduke Maximilian, during his residence in France.

(*Note of the Parisian Editor.*)

personally to the archduke, their zealous desire to give her satisfaction, deserve her kindness, and to prove on all occasions their unlimited attachment and profound respect.

We remain with the most profound respect,

Sire,

The very humble, very obedient,

And very faithful Servants

And Subjects of your Majesty,

L. PHIL. D'ORLÉANS.

L. P. J. D'ORLÉANS.

LOUIS-JOSEPH DE BOURBON.

LOUIS-HENRY-JOSEPH DE BOURBON.

L. F. DE BOURBON.

L. F. J. DE BOURBON.

Paris, March 30, 1775.

LETTER

OF THE

GREAT CONDÉ TO LOUIS XIV.

SIRE,

I HUMBLY intreat you will allow me to address your majesty for the last time. I feel I soon shall be called to answer for the actions of my life at the tribunal of God! I earnestly wish those which regard my Creator had been as faultless as most of those have been that concern your majesty! I have endeavoured to fulfil all the duties which my birth and the heart-felt zeal I bore your majesty imposed. It is true that, in the prime of life, I pursued a conduct which I was the first to condemn, and which you generously pardoned. I afterward endeavoured to atone my fault by an inviolable attachment to your majesty, and my constant regret has been that I could not perform enough to merit the kindness you have shown me. I have at least the satisfaction to have never withheld any object, possessed by me, however dear and precious, when I could prove my devotion to your majesty, and zeal for the state. After the many favors you have

heaped on me, dare I ask a boon, which, if granted, would afford me great consolation in the state to which I am reduced? I venture to intercede for the prince de Conti. It is now a twelve-month since he was first placed under my guidance, and I have been fortunate enough to inspire him with sentiments such as your majesty must approve. This prince assuredly has merit, and, if I did not see that he bears all possible submission to your majesty, and is truly desirous to regulate his conduct implicitly by your will, I would not earnestly intreat you, which I now do, to restore, what he esteems above every earthly thing, the honor of your good grace, for which he has languished more than a year past, in a state which may be called purgatory. I conjure your majesty to take pity on his condition, and grant him a general pardon. Perhaps I flatter myself too much; but what may not one hope from the greatest monarch on earth, of whom I die, as I have lived.

The very humble Servant,

And obedient Subject,

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

P. S. My son has just arrived; from him I learn that your majesty has done me the favor to pardon the prince de Conti: I am happy that I have sufficient life remaining to offer my very humble

thanks to your majesty, and I shall die content if your majesty will do me the justice to believe, that no one has exceeded me in respect, attachment, and, if I may be allowed the expression, affection for your royal person.

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Funeral Oration of the Great Condé was composed by order of the King, and delivered by the famous Bossuet before the whole Court: it is rather a faithful narrative of the actions of that Prince, than a panegyric; we have therefore supposed we should give the reader pleasure by adding this masterly piece of eloquence, it being likewise a historical monument.

FUNERAL ORATION
OF
LOUIS DE BOURBON,
PRINCE DE CONDÉ,

Spoken in the Church of Notre-Dame, at Paris,
March 10, 1687.

*Dominus tecum, virorum fortissime.....Vade in hac fortitudine.....
Ego ero tecum.*

“The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valor.....Go in this thy
might.....I shall be with thee!” Judges, chap. VI. v. 12, 14, 16.

MY LORD,*

WHILE I open my lips to celebrate the immortal glory of Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé, I feel equally embarrassed by the grandeur of the subject, and, if I may be allowed the expression, by the inutility of the labor. What quarter of the inhabitable globe has not heard of the victories of the prince de Condé, and the wonders of his life? They are every where celebrated; the Frenchman who recounts them to the foreigner, teaches him nothing new; and, however highly I may extol them, impressed as they

* The prince; son to the deceased prince de Condé.

are on my memory, I shall be secretly accused of keeping far behind the truth. Feeble orators that we are, we can do little justice to the glory of elevated souls! the sage has reason to say*, "Let their own works praise them in the gates." All praise is inadequate to great men, and the simple narrative of a faithful historian would be sufficient to sustain the glory of the prince de Condé; but till history, which owes this recital to future ages, shall chronicle his deeds, we must, to the utmost of our ability, satisfy the public gratitude, and obey the command of the greatest of monarchs.

What does not the nation owe a prince who was an honor to the royal house of France, the French name, and, I may add, to human nature? Such are the sentiments of Louis the Great, who, after paying a tribute of tears, surrounded by his courtiers, to the memory of the Great Condé, the most flattering eulogium it could receive, has assembled all that is most august, in this celebrated sanctuary, to pay public homage to the virtues of that prince; and he wills that my feeble voice should animate these mournful rites and funeral solemnities. But let us awhile conquer our grief. A grander object and one more worthy of the pulpit, presents itself to my thoughts. It is God who creates the warrior

* *Laudent eum in portis opera ejus*; Proverbs, xxi. 31.

and the hero. David says :* “ Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight.” If he inspire courage he no less bestows the other high qualities of the heart, natural and supernatural. All springs from his mighty arm ; from him noble feelings, sage counsels, and virtuous reflexions, take their heavenly source, but he will have us learn to distinguish between the gifts which he bestows on his enemies, and those which he reserves for his servants. Piety is the distinguishing mark of his favorites ; till heaven has conferred this gift all others are not only useless, but in the end, destructive to those by whom they are possessed, Had he not obtained this inestimable gem where would the prince de Condé, though gifted with so noble a mind, and genius so extraordinary, now be ? Oh, my brethren ! had not his other virtues been crowned with piety, these princes would now be robbed of all consolation, this holy pontif would offer up his prayers without hope, and the tribute of homage I owe to so great a man would have no basis of support. By this example, then, let us show the vanity of human glory ; let the idol of ambition be overthrown ; be it annihilated

* *Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prælium, et digitos meos ad bellum. Psal. cxliv. 1.*

at the feet of these altars ! Inspired by a theme so glorious, let us enumerate the high qualities inherent to a noble nature ; and zealous in the cause of truth, let us prove by the example of a prince, whom the whole earth has admired, that those high gifts, which constitute the hero and exalt human nature to its climax, a heart endowed with valor, magnanimity, and benevolence ; a mind adorned with penetration and dignity ; nay, with all the powers of genius, would only be as shadows were they not sanctified by piety ; and that piety in fine is the most precious attribute of man ! This, gentlemen, you will discover in the eternally memorable life of **THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LOUIS DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDÉ, AND FIRST PRINCE OF THE BLOOD.**

God has revealed to us that he alone formed conquerors, and made them subservient to his high purposes. Who created a Cyrus, but the Almighty ? Who named him two hundred years before his birth in the oracles of Isaiah ?* “ Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden ;” “ I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will

* *Hæc dicit Christo meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dexteram---Ego ante te ibo : et gloriosos terræ humiliabo : portas æreas conteram, et vectes ferreos confringam---Ut scias quia ego Dominus, qui voco nomen tuum---Vocavi te nomine tuo---Accinxi te, et non cognovisti me---Ego Dominus et non est alter, formans lucem, et creans tenebras, faciens pacem, et creans malum : ego Dominus faciens omnia hæc, &c. Isaiah xlv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.*

break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron;" "that thou mayst know that I the Lord call thee by thy name;" "I have even called thee by thy name; I have surnamed thee though thou hast not known me;" "I *am* the Lord, and *there* is none else;" "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace and create evil: I the Lord do all these *things*."

Who could form an Alexander, but the Almighty? Who revealed the invincible ardor of that hero, to his prophet Daniel, at so distant a period, and under so lively an allegory? * "And, behold, he came from the West, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground." In strength and agility he comes like the bounding animal of holy writ, and neither mountain nor precipice can arrest his course. Already the Persian monarch is in his grasp. † "And he ran unto him in the fury of his power, and he came close unto him, and he was moved with choler against him he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him, and there was none that could deliver him out of his hand." —If you heard simply the language of David,

* *Veniabat ab occidente super faciem totius terræ, et non tangebat terram.* Dan. viii. 5.

† *Cucurrit ad eum in impetu fortitudinis suæ: cumque appropinquasset prope arietem, efferatus est in eum, et percussit arietem Cumque eum misisset in terram, conculcavit, et nemo quibat liberare arietem de manu ejus.* Ibid. 6, 7.

which, gentlemen, would you imagine was described under this allegory? Alexander, or the prince de Condé? God then gifted him with that invincible courage for the safety of France, during the minority of a king only four years of age. May this monarch ever continue the favorite of Heaven; all shall yield to his valor: alike superior to friends and foes, now he will employ, and anon act without the assistance of his most famous captains: alone, shielded by God, who will be incessantly at his side, we shall see him stand the firm rampart of his kingdom. But the Almighty fixed on the duke D'Enghien to be the protector of his infancy; and therefore it was, that at the beginning of his reign, the duke, only two-and-twenty, conceived a project which to experienced veterans appeared impracticable; but the victory of Rocroi justified the intelligence by which it was conceived. It is true that the army of the foe is superior in force; it is composed of those veteran Walloon, Italian, and Spanish bands, which have hitherto been impenetrable. But what might not be expected from that courage with which our warriors were inspired by the critical situation of the kingdom, their former success, and the presence of a young prince of the blood, in whose eye victory beamed? Don Francisco de Mello awaited him with intrepidity; and, unable to retreat, these two generals and their respective armies seemed to have purposely inclosed

themselves in woods and marshes to decide their contest, like two knights in the lists. Then what did we not behold! The young prince appeared more than mortal! His great soul, roused by so worthy an object, was now entirely developed, danger increased his courage, and enthusiasm supplied the want of experience. At night, which they passed in view of the enemy, like a vigilant captain, he was the last to retire, but he never slept more calmly. On the eve of that memorable day, and from the first moment of battle, he was tranquil, so much he felt himself at ease, and we know that on the morrow, when he was to rise, this second Alexander was forced to be roused from a sound sleep. See you not how he flies to meet victory or death? Having infused his own ardor into every rank, we see him, as it were, at the same time, pursue the right wing of the enemy, support our own, which gives way, rally the half-conquered French, put the victorious Spaniard to rout, every where spread terror, and, by the majestic fire of his eye, astonish those who escape.

That formidable infantry whose thick battalions resemble so many towers, the breaches of which they knew how to repair, amid the general rout of the Spaniards remained immoveable, and thundered with their artillery on every side. Thrice the youthful conqueror endeavoured to pierce this intrepid phalanx, and thrice was he

repulsed by the valiant count de Fuentes, who was borne to the field of battle in his chair, and who, in despite of his infirmities, proved, that a warlike soul can master the body it animates; but he was forced at length to yield. In vain Beck hastens his march across the woods with fresh cavalry to fall on our exhausted soldiers. He is forestalled by the prince; the battalions, obliged to yield, ask for quarter; but victory threatens to become more terrible to Condé than the battle had been. He advances with confidence to receive the parole of these brave veterans; but still on their guard they fear a new attack; their tremendous discharge rekindles the fury of our combatants; carnage again is let loose, and the soldier wades in blood, till the Great Condé, who cannot see those lions slaughtered like timid sheep, pacifies the new-born rage, and to the glory of conquest adds the sweet satisfaction of forgiving. What was the astonishment of those veteran bands and their brave officers, when they found the arms of their conqueror was their only place of refuge? How great was their admiration of the young prince, whose noble front had received additional majesty from conquest, and to whom clemency lent new graces! How willingly would he have saved the life of the brave count de Fuentes! but that general was found among the thousands who had fallen on the field of battle, and whose loss is still

felt by Spain, who little foresaw, that the prince who occasioned the destruction of so many of her veteran regiments at the battle of Rocroi would destroy the remainder in the plain of Lens. This first victory was the pledge of many others. The prince kneeled on the sanguinary field, and paid a grateful tribute to the God of Battles, by whose assistance he had reaped so much glory ; all voices were raised in thanksgiving that Rocroi was delivered, the regency established, the safety of France secured, and a reign, which was to be so glorious, begun with so fortunate a presage ! The army showed an example of piety, which was followed by the whole nation : this first exploit of the duke D'Enghien was extolled to the skies ; it would itself have been sufficient to have rendered any life but his illustrious, yet it was but the first step of his career.

In his first campaign after the capture of Thionville, which was the worthy result of the victory of Rocroi, he acquired the reputation of a captain equally formidable in battle or in siege ; but the modesty this young victorious prince displayed was no less admirable than his valor. The court, that, on his arrival, bestowed the praise he deserved, was surprised at the manner in which it was received. The queen regent had testified the king's approbation of his services. The applause of the sovereign was a recompense worthy of his labors.

Every homage paid by others was rejected by him as insulting; and indocil to flattery, he shrunk very shadow of adulation. Such was the delicacy of the prince, or rather such was the solidity of his understanding. He was wont to say (and the maxim deserves your attention since it contributes to form the great man) "that our first duty on extraordinary occasions is to act uprightly, and that glory must ever be held subservient to virtue:" by this principle he influenced the conduct of others, and regulated his own. He was not, consequently, led astray by false glory: his views were directed to the true and the sublime. He centered his happiness in serving his king, and promoting the welfare of the state; that was the first and the most sacred wish of his heart.

The court, of which he was the ornament and delight, did not long detain him; the intrepid defender, whom the Almighty bestowed on us, was called upon to display his heroism in Germany, as he had done in Flanders. Here let your contemplation rest awhile; more formidable difficulties now await the prince than those he encountered at Rocroi; and war will exhaust all her efforts and skill to prove his genius. What a prospect opens upon my view! Here I behold not only warriors to oppose his valor, but inaccessible heights, ravines, and precipices on one side; on the other an impenetrable wood in the heart

of which is a marsh, backed with rivulets and formidable intrenchments. Everywhere fortifications are raised, and forests felled block up the frightful roads: within these intrenchments is Mercy, with his brave Bavarians, elated by repeated victory and the capture of Friburg: Mercy, who has never been seen to shrink in battle: Mercy, whom neither the prince de Condé, nor the vigilant Turenne ever surprized in a movement that was irregular, and to whose merit they paid this glorious testimony, "that he never suffered an advantage to escape him, and that he never failed to divine their plans, as justly as if he had assisted at their councils." Here, during eight days, we behold all that skill or valor can attempt in war. Our troops seem as much discouraged by the resistance of the enemy as by the tremendous site of the place, and the prince for some time, as it were, is left abandoned; but like another Maccabees* "his arm brought salvation unto him, and his fury it upheld him." He no sooner is the first to alight and storm those inaccessible heights than his ardor carries all before it. Mercy sees that his destruction is certain, his best regiments are defeated, and the wreck of his army escape under the cover of night. But it is not sufficient that we have consummate skill and valor to overcome;

* *Salvavit me brachium meum, et indignatio mea ipsa auxiliata est mihi.* Isaiah lxiii. 5.

excessive rains fall, and we must combat against the elements. Yet though the enemy, as skilful as he is daring, avails himself of this advantage, and again fortifies himself in a frightful mountain, harassed on every side, he is not only obliged to leave his baggage and artillery, but all the environs of the Rhine, a prey to the duke D'Enghien. See how all give way! Philipsburg, in despite of the approach of winter, in ten days is forced to capitulate; Philipsburg, which so long held the Rhine subject to our law, and the loss of which has been so gloriously repaired by the greatest of monarchs. Worms, Spires, Mentz, Landau, and twenty other places of note, open their gates: Mercy, unable to defend them, appears no more before his conqueror: nor does that suffice; he is destined to fall at his feet, a victim worthy of his courage; Nordlingue will witness his death; it is decreed that the French, as well in Germany as in Flanders, shall be invincible, and that the same hero shall lead them on to multiplied victory. Thus it was ordained by God, the protector of France, and of a monarch whom he destined to accomplish his mighty designs.

By his orders, all appeared secure under command of the duke D'Enghien; and without a recital of his other exploits, which but to name would fill up the day, you know that, among the many strong places he attacked, one alone

escaped from his grasp, the very failure of which added to the glory of the prince. Europe, while in admiration of the divine ardor by which he was animated, was astonished that at twenty-six he he was no less capable of sparing his troops, when necessary, than of urging them into danger ; and that, with equal intrepidity, he knew how to yield to fortune, or make it subservient to his will. He every where appears to be one of those extraordinary men who conquer all obstacles. The promptitude of his movements prevent their being counteracted : that is the characteristic of conquerors. When David, so great a warrior, mourned for the death of two famous captains, who had been slain, he bestowed this eulogium on them* : “ They were swifter than eagles, stronger than lions.” This is the image of the prince whom we regret. He appeared like a meteor in the most distant countries : he was seen, as it were at once, in all quarters, and in every attack. When, being occupied in one place, he sends to reconnoitre another, the diligent officer who bears his orders is astonished on his arrival to find himself forestalled, and that all is invigorated by the presence of the prince : Condé seems to multiply himself in battle, neither fire nor sword can stop him. He has no occasion to arm that

* *Aquilis velociores, leonibus fortiores.* II Sam. i. 25.

head which he exposes to peril so manifold ; the protection of the Almighty is a more sure defence ; the blows aimed at this hero lose their force, and only leave marks of his courage and the favor of Heaven. If you tell him that a prince of the blood, whose existence is so necessary to the state, ought to guard his life, he answers, that “ a prince of the blood from his rank is most interested in supporting the glory of the crown, and ought to be more devoted than any other to the welfare of the state, and the prosperity of the sovereign.” After having, during so many years, forced our enemies to feel the invincible power of the king, we see him obliged to fight against his fellow citizens. I shall include all in one sentence: he made the queen regent respected ; and since I must touch upon matters which I would fain bury in eternal oblivion, till he was thrown into that fatal prison, he never thought of attempting any thing against the state ; but in the height of his influence, if he wished to obtain any favors, he was still more anxious to deserve them. It was in this spirit that, speaking of his unfortunate imprisonment, (I may conscientiously repeat the words which I had from his lips at the foot of these altars, because they are expressive of his genuine feelings,) he said, “ that he had entered that prison the most innocent of men, but that he had left it the most culpable.” “ Alas !” continued he, “ my heart

was devoted to the service of the king, and the good of the state." These words prove how sincerely he regretted having been driven to extremities so great. Without, however, seeking to excuse his conduct, which he himself so highly blamed, let us observe, and then consign the subject to oblivion, that like as, in eternal glory, the faults of holy penitents are extenuated by the reparation they have made, and are totally eclipsed by the radiance of divine mercy, so in errors thus sincerely regretted, which have been followed by atonement no less glorious, we ought only to regard the submissive gratitude and faithful services of the repentant prince, and the clemency of the great king by whom they were forgotten.

If he was hurried into those unfortunate wars, this tribute of glory at least is his due; he did not suffer the honor of his blood to be stigmatized in a foreign land. In despite of the majesty of the empire, in despite of the haughtiness of Austria, and the hereditary crowns attached to that house, even in the branch which reigns in Germany, Condé, a refugee at Namur, supported only by his courage and reputation, maintained the claims of a prince of France, and of the first house in the universe, so firmly, that all which could be obtained of him was, that he would consent to treat the archduke, who was the brother of an emperor, and the de-

scendant of so many emperors, as his equal, on condition that he, in a third place, would pay him the honors of the Low Countries. The same treatment was secured to the duke D'Eng-hien, and the house of France maintained its rank even in Brussels.

But see what true courage can effect! While the prince maintained so high a tone with the archduke, who was in power, he paid the king of England, and the duke of York, now a famous king, but then in adversity, all the honors that were their due; and finally taught the too haughty Spaniards to respect that majesty of which misfortune could not rob those great princes. The rest of his conduct was not less dignified. Difficulties were started in the treaty of the Pyrenees relative to the interests of the prince; listen to the directions he gave, and see if ever individual displayed generosity more disinterested! It was not just, he said, that the peace of Christendom should be retarded on his account, and he sent orders to his agents in the conference, to insure the safety of his friends, and leave him to follow his fortune. Ah! how noble a victim offered to sacrifice himself to the public good! But when the face of affairs changed, and Spain offered to give him either Cambrai and its environs, or Luxembourg, in full sovereignty; what answer did he return? "that he preferred his duty and the fa-

vor of the king to the greatest advantages they could offer." Such were his invariable sentiments, which he constantly instilled into the duke D'Enghien. Behold him restored to his proper sphere! France beholds him return ennobled by these last traits of heroism, with that indescribable finish which adversity gives to exalted virtue: she sees him still more devotedly bent to serve the state and the king. In his former campaigns he had only one life to offer his sovereign, but he has now another, which he holds more precious than his own. The duke D'Enghien, following the example of his father, having finished his studies with honor to himself, is ready to accompany him to the field. Not satisfied with teaching him the military art by oral instructions, which, to the last, he continued to bestow, the prince led him to receive living and practical lessons. We will leave that hero to pass the Rhine, an exploit which is the admiration of our age and the prodigy of the life of Louis the Great. At the battle of Senef the young duke, though he commanded as he had done in other campaigns, bought hard experience in the art of war at his father's side. Amid perils so imminent, he saw that great prince, whose horse was killed under him, thrown into a moat. While the duke offered him his own, and assisted him to rise, he was wounded in the arms of his tender father; yet

he continued his pious cares, delighted at once to satisfy glory and filial affection. The proud father recognized a son worthy of himself: he saw that the opportunity was only wanting to make him achieve great exploits, and his affection increased with his esteem.

The social warmth of his heart was not merely confined to his son and family. Believe me I do not exaggerate, while I assure you that I have seen him deeply moved when his friends have been exposed to danger: affable and unaffected in their society, I have seen him change countenance at the recital of their misfortunes, and listen to the minutest, as well as to the most important circumstances. He was the mediator of their disputes, and calmed the irritated spirits with a patience and amenity that could scarcely be expected from a temper so hasty, and rank so elevated. Far be from us those heroes who are destitute of humanity! They may force our respect and admiration, in common with other extraordinary objects, but they never gain our love! When God formed the heart of man, he first implanted benevolence, as the distinguishing characteristic of the divine nature, and the stamp of that benign hand to which we owe our existence. Benevolence, therefore, ought to be the basis of our actions, and by this internal charm we should seek to gain the affections of our fellow creatures.

Exalted rank, like a public fountain, which is raised to distribute its sanative waters, far from being calculated to restrict, was intended to expand benevolence. It is the touchstone of all hearts; and those among the great, who want this virtue, as a just punishment for their arrogant insensibility, are eternally deprived of the greatest blessing of human life; they are ignorant of social happiness. Never were its sweets more fully enjoyed than by the prince of whom we are speaking; never was man less afraid that familiarity should wound respect. Can this be the conqueror who stormed cities, and won battles? He seems to have forgotten that high rank which we have seen him so gallantly defend! Recognize, my brethren, the hero, who, always equal to himself, without assuming haughtiness to appear great, or affecting condescension to be polite and obliging, by acting naturally, is all that he ought to be toward every class of men. He may be compared to a majestic and munificent river, that peaceably transfers no less abundance into cities than the waters of its bed have lavished on the country; a stream bountiful to all, and which only swells and overflows when the gentle current that directs its tranquil course is opposed with violence. Such were the benevolence, and such the power of the prince de Condé. Had you a secret of importance to communicate, you might boldly

treasure it up in that noble heart: your concerns would become his by this confidence. Nothing was held more inviolable by him than the sacred rights of friendship. If you requested any favor, he appeared to be the person obliged; and he never felt joy so pure and so genuine as when he had the power to confer a favor. The first money which he received from Spain, with the permission of the court, exhausted though his finances were, was bestowed on his friends, though the peace had left him nothing more to hope from their services: in addition, four hundred thousand crowns were distributed by his orders. Did they not prove (a rare instance in human life) that gratitude was as lively a passion in the prince de Condé's heart as self-interest is in that of other men? He always paid a just tribute to virtue; he extolled it even in his enemies. Whenever he had to speak of his battles, and even in the dispatches which he sent to the court, he praised the counsel of one, the boldness of another, and each was mentioned in turn, while his own exploits could scarcely be discovered. Devoid of envy, affectation, or parade, always great, whether in action or repose, he appeared the same at Chantilly as at the head of his armies. Whether he was occupied in embellishing that magnificent and charming abode, whether he furnished a camp in the heart of the enemy's country or fortified a place, whether marching with an

army, amid dangers, or walking with his friends in those superb alleys where so many fountains played both day and night, he was still Condé, and glory was his inseparable companion. How admirable is the hero, who, when he retires from the tumult of arms, knows how to enjoy those social virtues, and that tranquil glory, which neither conquest nor grandeur can bestow! In his retreat, where all charms and nothing dazzles, he looks round without being stunned by the trumpet's charge, the canon's roar, or the groans of the wounded; and, divested of his mortal terrors, he commands that veneration and respect which awaited him when armies marched at his orders.

Let us now proceed to analyze the qualities of his mind, and since the military art, so destructive to man, is unfortunately that which most calls human skill and ingenuity into action, we will first examine the genius of our prince under this point of view. To begin, what general was ever gifted with greater foresight? He was wont to say, "fear the enemy at a distance; but, when they approach, meet them with courage and alacrity." See how justly he estimates the advantages which may be given or taken. With what promptitude he avails himself of time, place, and person, and calculates not only interests and talents, but passions, humours, and caprices! See you not how he numbers the force of the foe by

their varied appearance, different manners, and confederate princes? Nothing escapes his forecast. Gifted with genius as vast as it is luminous, and equally versed in the detail as in the extensive plans of war, we always see him attentive to every circumstance. He has the art of making all those whom he interrogates, whether it be a deserter, a fugitive, a prisoner, or a traveller, say not only what they intend to tell, but what they meant to conceal, what they know, and (if I may so express myself) what they do not know; so just are his calculations. His spies bring him the most minute details; he is awake at every instant, for another of his maxims was "that a skilful captain may be defeated, but must never suffer himself to be taken by surprise;" and we owe him the honorable testimony that he was never himself in this situation. At whatever hour, or on whatever side the enemy came, they never found him unprepared, but always ready to attack them, and seize every advantage. As the eagle, now soaring aloft in the heavens, now resting on the rocks, casts around his piercing eyes to single out his devoted prey, on which he never fails to fasten, so the prince de Condé, equally prompt of glance and impetuous in attack, falls on the foe, who cannot escape his mighty and infallible arm. Those vain alarms, which discourage and fatigue the soldier more than real attacks, are never known

in his camp. He keeps his ranks entire, to act effectually in real danger: all is ready at the first signal, and as the prophet says,* “their arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent.” In the interim, they rest in profound repose, as if they were under their own roofs. Repose did I say? At Picton, near that formidable corps, assembled by three combined powers, the French camp was the scene of continual festivity; the army was all mirth, and never felt conscious of its inferiority to that of the enemy. The prince, by his skilful encampment, had not only provided for the safety of the whole of our frontiers and places, but for that of our soldiers; he kept on the watch; that was sufficient. At length the enemy decamps; this was what the prince expected. He immediately puts his troops in march; the Dutch army with its proud standards cannot escape him; all floats in blood, all becomes his prey! but God sets boundaries to the most glorious plans. The enemy, however, is every where defeated; Oudenarde is delivered from their power; to save them from the valor of the prince, Heaven shelters them under a thick fog; terror and desertion spread among their troops; we know not what is become of that formidable army. It was then that Louis, after having finished the rude siege of Besançon, reconquered Franche-Comté with astonishing ra-

* *Sagittæ ejus acutæ, et omnes arcus ejus extensi.* Isaiah v. 28.

pidity, and had returned, loaded with glory, to profit by the movements of his armies of Flanders and Germany; it was then he commanded that detachment, which, as you well know, performed miracles of valor in Alsatia; yes, he reaped immortal fame, as much by his own exploits as by those which he caused his generals to atchieve.

Highly gifted though he was by nature, the prince did not fail to improve those gifts, by reading and reflexion. He studied the encampments of Cesar. I recollect with what pleasure we have heard him relate, that “when in Catalonia, and on the very spot where that celebrated captain,* favored by his advantageous position, had obliged five Roman legions, and two experienced chiefs, to lay down their arms without coming to action, he had reconnoitred in person those rivers and mountains, which had aided that grand design; never were the Commentaries of Cesar explained by a more skilful and learned master! The captains of future ages will pay him similar homage! they will visit that spot commemorated by the encampment of Picton, to study its wonders. In that of Chatenoy they will mark out the eminence which that great captain occupied, and the rivulet by which he sheltered himself under the canon of the intrenchment of

* *De Bello Civili. Lib I.*

Schelestad. There we shall see him defy the combined force of Germany, in turn pursue the foe, though stronger in force, defeat their plans, and oblige them to raise the siege of Saverne, as he had shortly before obliged them to abandon that of Haguenau. By manœuvres like these, with which his life is filled, he has acquired such high renown, that in our time, those who served under the prince de Condé will gain reputation in the world, and be held in esteem by the military : to have seen him command will be a passport to promotion.

But, if ever he appeared truly extraordinary, if ever he seemed to have a calm and enlightened view of things, it was in those critical moments on which victory depends, and in the height of battle. In every other situation, he deliberates and lends a docile ear to the advice of each individual : here all presents itself suddenly, yet he is not embarrassed by the multiplicity of objects ; his determination is instantaneous ; he commands and is in action at the same time, and all moves in order and security. The glory of this great man cannot be diminished by what I am going to observe, therefore, why should I fear to make this acknowledgment ? In the ardor of battle, you no longer see him indulge in those impetuous sallies, which he knew how to atone with such promptitude and grace, but to which he

sometimes yielded on ordinary occasions ; in the very crisis of commotion, when all seemed confused, in him you are suddenly surprised by thoughts so clear, sedate, penetrating, and ardent, so mild and agreeable to his friends, so haughty and terrific to his enemies, that we know not how to conceive an assemblage of qualities so opposite! In that terrible day, when at the gates of the city, and in view of the citizens, Heaven seemed to have decreed the destruction of this prince, when with the flower of his troops he was pressed by a general so skilful, and saw himself more than ever exposed to the caprice of fortune, while blows fell on every part, those who fought by his side have frequently assured us, that, if they had any matter of importance to communicate to the prince, they might have safely chosen the moment when all was tumult and flames ; for, in those terrible onsets, his perspicuity and genius soared, as it were, beyond human intelligence. He may be compared to those lofty mountains, the summit of which, raised above the clouds, tempests cannot shake ; majestic and serene, they lose no ray of the surrounding light. Thus, in the plain of Lens, a name flattering to France, the archduke, contrary to his intention, being drawn out of an impregnable post under the allurements of a treacherous success, by a sudden movement of the prince, who, brings fresh men to replace

those who are fatigued, is obliged to decamp. His veteran troops perish, his artillery, in which he had placed his hopes, falls into our hands ; and Beck, who had thought himself secure of victory, taken and mortally wounded, in expiring pays a mournful homage to his conqueror by his despair. Is a town to be succoured or stormed ? the prince knows how to use every moment to advantage. Thus, on the first intelligence, which accidentally reaches him, of an important siege, he hastily traverses a whole country, and at a glance discovers a certain passage to throw succours into the town, by the means of those places which the vigilant enemy has not been able to sufficiently fortify. Is he besieging a town ? he daily invents new means to accelerate its conquest. He seems to expose his men ; but he spares them by abridging the duration of danger by the vigor of his attacks. Overwhelmed by manœuvres so multiplied and surprising, the most courageous governors break the word they have pledged to their generals. Dunkirk is captured in thirteen days, amidst the autumnal rains, and the French banner every where is seen to wave on the formidable ships of our allies.

But the knowledge most necessary to a sage general is that of his men and his officers ; for this knowledge creates that perfect intelligence which makes armies act like one corps, or to

speaking in the terms of Scripture, "as one man.*" Wherefore as one man? Because, under a commander who has a thorough knowledge of his soldiers and chiefs, all is equally prompt and orderly. It is that which secures success; and I have heard our great prince say, that "it was the knowledge he had of M. de Turenne, whose consummate skill made all orders unnecessary, that decided the victory of Norlingue." On his part, Turenne openly declared, "that he had acted with confidence, because he knew the prince, and that his orders were always precise." It was thus they mutually imparted that security which enabled them to give their whole attention to the combat. Such was the fortunate termination of a battle which was one of the most perilous and obstinate on record.

How glorious a spectacle it afforded to our age, to behold these heroes, whom all Europe proclaimed equal to the greatest captains of antiquity, at the same time, and in the same campaigns, now at the head of separate corps, now united, more by the concurrence of similar thoughts than by their respective situations, now opposed against each other, as if God, whose wisdom, as Scripture tells us, reigns on earth, had wished to display them under every relation, and

* *Egressus est Israel tamquam vir unus.* Judges xx. 1.

show how he could dispose of men! What encampments, what skilful marches, what intrepidity, what precaution, what dangers, and what expedients are opened to our view! Were ever two men of such distinct, not to say opposite characters, known to possess the same virtues? The actions of the one seem to be the result of deep reflexion; the other appears to act from sudden inspiration: the one, consequently, is more prompt without being rash; the other, though colder in manner, is never slow, is more daring in action than in words, and is inwardly resolute while he appears embarrassed. The one, on his first entrance into the army, inspires you with a high idea of his valor, and promises to become a hero; but his steps are measured, and he only proceeds by degrees to atchieve the wonders by which he closes his career: the other, like a man inspired, in his first battle rivals the most skilful leaders. The one, by great and continued efforts, claims universal admiration, and seals the lips of envy: the other, at the beginning of his career, emits a radiance so bright that envy dare not attack his fame. The one, in fine, by his profound genius and the incredible resources of his courage, overcomes the greatest dangers, and even knows how to avail himself of the inconstancy of fortune: the other, having the advantage of exalted rank, gifted with those lofty sentiments which Heaven grants,

by a kind of admirable instinct, of which man is unconscious, seems born to oblige fortune to aid his designs and to master fate. In fine, that these heroes may always appear under a different aspect, the one, killed by a sudden blow, falls for his country a second Judas Maccabees; in him the army laments a father, and the court and people are plunged in mourning: his piety is no less extolled than his valor, and his memory will never die. The other, raised by his exploits to the summit of glory, like a second David, expires in his bed, exalting the goodness of his Creator, and bestowing advice on his family: he leaves every heart no less impressed with the glory of his career than with affliction at his death. How delightful it was to be in company with those great men, to study their characters, and hear the mutual praise they bestowed! This delight our age has witnessed; nay, more, it has beheld a monarch employ these great captains, and avail himself of the aid which Heaven granted; and when the death of the one, and the infirmities of the other, deprived him of their assistance, it has seen him form designs more vast, atchieve greater exploits, soar beyond himself, and exceed alike the hopes of his people, and the expectation of mankind! So exalted is his courage, so vast his intelligence, and so glorious his destiny!

Such, gentlemen, are the examples which God

presents to the world, and such are the men whom he sends on earth, sometimes in one country, sometimes in another, according to his eternal councils, when he wishes most to make his power or his wisdom known. For, are not his divine attributes as clearly discovered in those rare talents with which he gifts extraordinary men, at pleasure, as in the Heavens, which are the work of his creative hand? What star shines more bright in the firmament than the fame of the prince de Condé has blazoned in Europe? Neither was it war alone which gave him renown; his vast genius embraced all; the study of the ancients, as well as of the moderns, history, philosophy, the most sublime theology, the arts and the sciences. There was no book which he did not read; there was no ingenious person, whether he was a speculator or the inventor of any work, with whom he did not converse: his intercourse gave them new information, and his acute questions, or judicious reflexions, rectified their ideas. His conversation had a peculiar attraction, because he was well-informed on every subject; he could not only enter into the different interests of the warrior, the courtier, and the politician, but converse with the traveller on all he had remarked that was curious in nature, government, or commerce, with the mechanic on his inventions, and with scientific men of every description, on what they

had discovered most worthy of notice. These attainments are indubitably derived from God, and we must own that they are admirable: but, to confound human vanity, which becomes inflated by such gifts, the Almighty thinks proper to bestow them on his enemies. The many sages, conquerors, wise legislators, and excellent citizens of paganism, a Socrates, a Marcus Aurelius, a Scipio, a Cesar, and an Alexander, who were all deprived of the true knowledge of God, are considered by St. Augustin as being excluded from his eternal kingdom. It will be asked, did not God then create them? Who but he, who made all in heaven and earth? Why then did he give them being? What were the peculiar designs of that profound wisdom, which never does any thing in vain? Hear the answer of St. Augustin: "he made them," said he, "to give lustre to the ages in which they lived."* He instilled these exalted qualities into great men for the same reason that he formed the sun. Who does not admire that beautiful luminary. But, since God suffers it to shine equally on the good and the wicked, this lovely object was not created to make us happy, but to embellish and illuminate the great theatre of the world. Thus, when he gifts his enemies with that genius, intelligence, and virtue, which

* *Ut ordinem sæculi præsentis ornaret.* Cont. Julian. l. v. n. 14.

emanate from the Divinity, these rare endowments are not bestowed as blessings ; they are meant to adorn the world, and serve as an ornament to the present age. How wretched is the destiny of those whom he raised to this high eminence of worldly glory ! Are not their wishes centered in the praise of man ? Haply, you think that God will disappoint their vain ambition ? No, he inflicts more severe punishment, by even exceeding their expectations. Alexander, who only thirsted for worldly renown, was exalted beyond his hopes. His name lives in every modern panegyric, and, by a fatality glorious to that conqueror, he participates in the glory of every hero. The heroic deeds of the Romans have likewise received a recompense adequate to their merits, and to their desires : the Almighty bestowed the empire of the world as a worthless gift. Oh, ye potentates, humble yourselves amid your pomp ! Boast not, ye conquerors, of your victories ! Human glory is a gift as fragile as it is vain, it reaches not the living ! It is attached—to what ? Perhaps to the medals or statues of these heroes and sages of antiquity, which are unearthened, with other relics of barbarism, or to the ruins of their monuments, or the fragments of their works, which are enveloped in obscurity and doubt. Such is the worthy recompense of their labors ! and the gratification of their wishes proves the scourge of their errors. Come, ye po-

tentates of the earth, like the great men whom you admire, seize, if you can, the phantom of glory : “ God who chastizes their pride with hell fire,” said St. Augustin, “ did not envy them that celebrity which was the object of their ambition, and they have received a recompense as vain as their desires.”*

Such will not be the fate of our great prince ! the hour of God is come ! the hour of mercy and grace ! Without being warned by sickness, or urged by time, he performs that on which he had meditated. He makes choice of a sage priest to be his spiritual director ; he bows with Christian humility to his decisions, and his sincerity has never been called in question. From this epocha, he constantly endeavoured to keep his feelings under subjection, to resist the attacks of excruciating pain, and to give an example of unvaried self-denial and submission. The Almighty, whom he fervently invoked, inspired him with a love of holy writ, and that divine book gave solid nourishment to his piety. His conduct was more than ever regulated by justice : the widow and orphan were relieved, and the indigent approached him with confidence. No less sage than agreeable in his intercourse with his family, while

* *Receperunt mercedem suam, vani vanam.* In Psalm cxviii
Serm. xii. n. 2.

enjoying parental pleasures, he inspired his children with sentiments of true virtue, and the young prince, his grandson, will, through life, feel the advantage of having been educated by such a man. His example was followed by his whole household. Several of his domestics had unfortunately been educated in the errors which France then tolerated. How often have we seen him alarmed for their salvation, afflicted at their obstinacy, and consoled by their conversion? With what indubitable perspicuity he proved the antiquity and truth of the catholic religion? You no longer beheld that impetuous conqueror, who wished to carry all before him; he reasoned with that mildness and patient charity which seek to win the affection, and cure the diseased mind. Gentlemen, to well-govern your family, give a pious example to your domestics, act with justice and mercy, accomplish the good which God ordains, and support the affliction he sends, are the simple duties and familiar practice of the Christian, and at the awful day of judgment, before the holy angels and his Heavenly Father, Christ will give praise to those by whom these duties have been discharged. History, like empires, will then be destroyed; and the heroic deeds they record will no more be remembered. While the prince thus employed himself in this pious retreat, which was more glorious than his

most renowned exploits, the sudden intelligence of the dutchess de Bourbon's danger, like a thunder bolt, spread terror and desolation in Chantilly. Who was not grieved to see that rising constellation on the point of being extinguished? It was feared that youth so tender would have the destiny of more advanced age. What were the feelings of the prince de Condé, when he found himself menaced with the loss of that new tie, which attached his family to the person of the king? This was the event that doomed the Great Condé to death! The hero, whom so many sieges and battles could not destroy, is fated to perish the victim of his tenderness! His paternal heart, which so long has supported him under a dangerous and acute disease, is overwhelmed by this unexpected blow. He makes efforts beyond his strength! At the sight of the king, who comes to visit the sick princess, he forgets his debility; urged by his zeal, and feeling at that moment no want of assistance, he hastens to warn Louis against dangers, which that great king does not fear, and at length succeeds in persuading him to retire; but the exertion is too great, he swoons away, and this new manner of exposing his life for his sovereign creates just admiration. Though the dutchess D'Enghien, that virtuous princess, who was so entirely devoted to her duties and her fa-

mily, was suffered to attend on him, her efforts could not quell the anxiety of the prince. When the young princess was out of danger, the malady of the king gave birth to new alarms. Suffer me to dwell on this period. Serene as we beheld that august countenance, we little foresaw that our sovereign, on his return to Versailles, would expose himself to suffer those excruciating agonies which have proved to the world his piety and fortitude, and the love his people bore their monarch! How great is our admiration, when we behold him relieve our anxious alarms, at the expence of a health so precious, and grant us the consolation of his presence! When, no less able to command himself than others, we see him not only regulate his affairs, as usual, but converse with his afflicted courtiers with all the serenity which he displayed in those enchanting gardens! Beloved of God and men be a sovereign who unites urbanity to those high qualities which we admire! Under these cruel sufferings, he was more anxious for the health of the prince de Condé than his own. That great prince grew weaker, but the approach of death was slow. At the moment, however, he seemed to amend, and the duke D'Enghien, who was divided between the duties of the subject and the son, by his desire had returned to the king, a sudden and fatal change took place, and the

prince was forewarned of his approaching end. Christians grant me your attention! from him learn to die! or rather learn not to wait till the last hour, to begin to live with piety. How! Wait till clasped in the icy arms of death, you scarcely know whether you are among the living or the dead, to begin a new life! Ah, let repentance prepare you for this hour of anguish and darkness! The prince, without betraying surprise at this awful decree, remained a moment silent, and then uttered this invocation. "Great God," said he, "thy will be done! I throw myself into thy arms! Grant me the grace to die well." What more could you wish? You see, in this short prayer, submission to the will of God, resignation to Providence, confidence in the divine mercy, and true piety! He supported this last shock with that fortitude, serenity, and presence of mind, by which he had been signalized on the field of battle; and death, under a ghastly and languishing form, did not appear more terrible than when it had menaced him amid fire and carnage, clothed in the garb of victory. While groans and mourning filled his chamber, he continued to give his directions, as if he had not been personally concerned in the general affliction; and if he forbade its effusion, it was not that it disturbed his serenity, but that it retarded what was necessary

to be done. The lowest of his domestics was not overlooked. With a liberality worthy of his birth, and their services, he loaded them with benefactions, but left them still more honored by the tokens of his remembrance. While giving orders of the highest importance, orders in which his conscience and eternal salvation were concerned, he was advised to have them written down with all the due formalities. Though I shall renew your affliction, my Lord, and open your wounds afresh, I cannot forbear repeating the constant answer which he returned: "that he knew you, that he did but need simply to acquaint you with his intentions, and that you would even exceed his wishes, and supply any oversight which might escape him." I am not surprised that a father should love you, it is a feeling which nature implants; but that so enlightened a father should have testified that implicit confidence in his last moments, that he should have depended on you in matters so important, and that he should die perfectly happy in that trust, is the noblest tribute which your virtues could receive! Notwithstanding your exalted merit, that is the only praise which I shall now bestow on your highness. The manner in which the prince afterward acquitted himself of his religious duties, deserves to be universally

known: not because it was, but, as I may say, because it was not remarkable, and because a prince so open to the observations of all, should act with such unaffected simplicity, and good sense. Do not expect, gentlemen, to hear pompous language, which betrays either an inward pride or an agitated mind, which combats or dissembles its secret trouble. The prince de Condé was a stranger to such language, and, in death, as well as during his life, his grandeur was marked by truth. His confession was humble, and full of compunction, yet hope. He needed no long preparation for death; the best which can be made is not to persist in error till that awful crisis arrives. But listen, gentlemen, to what follows! At the sight of the holy viaticum, so much desired, behold with what awe he regards that sacred rite, that sweet consolation. He recollects the irreverence, alas, by which this divine mystery is dishonored! Christians no longer feel the holy terror with which men were formerly seized at the sight of the sacrifice! One might say, that it had ceased to be terrible, to use the language of the holy fathers, and that the blood of our victim does not flow so truly as on Mount Calvary! Far from trembling before the altars of Christ, men now despise his presence! At a time when the whole kingdom is zealous in the conversion of heretics, they do not fear to countenance blasphemy! Men of the

world, you do not regard these horrible prophecies; on your death bed you will remember them with confusion and terror. The prince recollected the faults he had committed, and, being too weak to express himself with the energy he felt, he availed himself of the voice of his confessor, to humble himself before the world, his domestics, and his friends. He was answered by sobs: oh, answer him now by following his example! He fulfilled the other duties of religion with equal piety and presence of mind. With what fervor, and how often, he prayed to our blessed Redeemer, while he kissed the cross, that the blood he had shed for him might not have been shed in vain! Such is the sinner's atonement, the support of the just, and the hope of the Christian! How shall I speak of the holy prayers of the dying, where, aided by the efforts of the church, we hear their most fervent vows, and, as it were, the last cries by which that holy mother ushers us into a heavenly world! Thrice he caused them to be repeated, and always found new consolation. After thanking his physicians--- "these," said he, pointing to the ecclesiastics, to whose advice he was listening, and in whose prayers he joined, "these are my true physicians." The psalms were ever on his lips, and confidence in his heart. If he complained it was that

he had so little to suffer for the expiation of his sins. Though sensible to the last to the tenderness of his children, he never suffered his fortitude to forsake him : he feared too much to yield to the feelings of nature. How shall I describe his last interview with the duke D'Enghien ! What colors would be sufficiently vivid to picture the fortitude of the father, and the extreme anguish of the son ? His face drowned in tears, and his speech suffocated by sobs, at one moment with filial affection, he presses those victorious, but now feeble hands to his lips, and at another throws himself in his arms, and sinks on his paternal bosom ! He shews, by these efforts, his anxious desire to retain the dear object of his veneration and love. Nature is exhausted, and he falls at his feet. The prince, whose fortitude is unshaken, suffers him to recover, and then calling for the dutchess, his daughter-in law, who is likewise nearly sinking under her affliction, he delivers his last injunctions, in which tenderness and piety are combined, without betraying the least weakness. He then bestows his benediction with that devotion and fervor which is acceptable to God, and, like a second Jacob, blesses by turns each of their children. Alas, description cannot do justice to their mutual tenderness ! You, prince, who are his dear nephew, and, as it were, his second son,

shall not be forgotten ! Nor shall I omit the glorious testimony he constantly paid to your merit, the tender affection he bore you, the letter he wrote, on his death bed, to re-establish you in the favor of a king, to whom your heart yields high homage, nor those noble qualities which prove that you were worthy to occupy the last hours of so glorious a life. Neither shall I forget the goodness of the monarch, who anticipated the wish of the dying prince, the generous cares of the duke D'Enghien, who obtained this favor, nor with what pleasure the prince heard that his son had enabled him to serve so dear a relation. While his heart expands with joy, and his voice revives in praise of our sovereign, the prince de Conti arrives, overwhelmed with gratitude and sorrow ! The effecting scene is renewed ; the princes listen to counsel, which will be indelibly engraven on their hearts, and the prince concludes in assuring them that they will never be great men, great princes, or virtuous citizens, unless they act justly, and are faithful to God and the king. This was the last exhortation he impressed on their memory ! and this last mark of tenderness contained an abridgement of their duties. All burst into lamentation, all were drowned in tears : the prince alone was unmoved ; agitation could not reach the sanctuary in which he had found admission.

Oh God! you were his strength, his impregnable fortress, and, to speak in the language of David, the firm rock on which his constancy stood! Let us inquire what now was passing at the court, in the presence of his majesty. When he caused the last letter of the Great Condé to be read, the modesty with which the prince speaks of the services he did the state at the beginning and the end of his life, and the candor with which he acknowledges the errors he had committed in its meridian, moved every heart, and the tears which the king shed proved the sympathy which exists between heroes. But when they came to the postscript, in which the prince says, "he shall die with content, and too happy, since he has still sufficient life to express his gratitude, his devotion, and, if he might be allowed the word, his affection to his majesty," every tongue gave testimony to the sincerity of his attachment; and those with whom he had so often, in familiar conversation, spoken of this great king, could bear witness that they had never heard more respectful or fervent regard expressed for his sacred person, or his royal virtues, his piety, courage, and extensive genius, especially in war, which the prince de Condé praised with as little exaggeration as flattery, more highly extolled. While they paid this glorious testimony to his virtues, that great man had

already ceased to exist. Having thrown himself into the arms of his God, he calmly awaited his mercy, and continued to implore his succour till he expired. It is here that we may give vent to our just grief for the loss of so great a man! but, for the love of truth, and to shame those who are obstinately blind, listen to the glorious testimony he paid to religion on his death bed! He was informed by his confessor, that if our hearts are not entirely such as the Almighty demands, we must implore God to mould them as he pleases, and repeat these pious words of David; "Create in me a clean heart, oh God!"* At these words the prince made a pause, as if struck with some important thought, then calling the holy father, who had suggested that pious sentiment, he said; "I never doubted of the mysteries of religion, whatever people may have said." Christians, you ought to believe him, for persons in his condition owe only truth to the world. "But, continued he, "my faith is more than ever confirmed." "These truths," added he, with exquisite emotion, "fully unvail themselves to my comprehension! Yes, we shall see God, as he is, face to face!"† He repeated these awful words in Latin,

* *Cor Mundum crea in me, Deus!* Psalm li. 10.

† 1 John, iii. 2. 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

Sicuti est, facie ad faciem, with heartfelt fervor, and it was admirable to behold him in that sweet extacy. What then passed in his mind? What new light broke upon him? What sudden ray pierces the mist of night, and in a moment dispels the ignorance of the senses, darkness itself, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the holy obscurity of our faith? What then becomes of those lofty titles by which our vanity is flattered? At the approach of so bright a day, and the first radiance of so vivid a light, how instantly the phantoms of the world vanish! How gloomy is the splendor of the greatest victory, how worthless mundane glory appears, and how we regret that our eyes have been thus dazzled! Come, people, now come; but rather approach ye princes and lords, ye who judge the earth, and ye who open the gates of heaven to man; and you, more than all princes and princesses, who are the noble descendants of so many kings, bright luminaries of France, though now under the eclipse of sorrow, come and see the little which remains of birth so august, grandeur so exalted, and glory so eminent! Cast your eyes around! Behold all that piety and magnificence can combine to pay honor to a hero. Titles, inscriptions, vain emblems of that which no longer exists, figures which seem to weep round a tomb, and

fragil images of grief, which, like the rest, must perish by the hand of time, columns that seem to rise in immortal testimony of our nonentity; nothing, in fine, is wanting to complete this august spectacle, but the presence of him to whom these honors are rendered! Weep then over this feeble wreck of human existence! Weep while we pay this mournful tribute to a hero! You, more than others, approach, warlike intrepid spirits, who so ardently pursue the track of glory. Who was more worthy to command you? Who was more benign and noble? Bewail then this great captain, and in weeping say; Behold him who led us into danger; under him how many celebrated leaders have been formed, who, by emulating his example, have attained the highest honors of war! His shade might yet have gained battles! His name now animates and warns us, that, if we would reap any advantage from our labors in the hour of death, and not begin that last and awful journey unprepared, we must serve the King of Heaven. Serve then that immortal and all-merciful king! He will more graciously accept the sigh of compassion and cup of charity, bestowed in his name, than others would receive the sacrifice of life itself! Date your effective services from the time you devote yourselves to so benignant a master! And you, whom he received in the rank

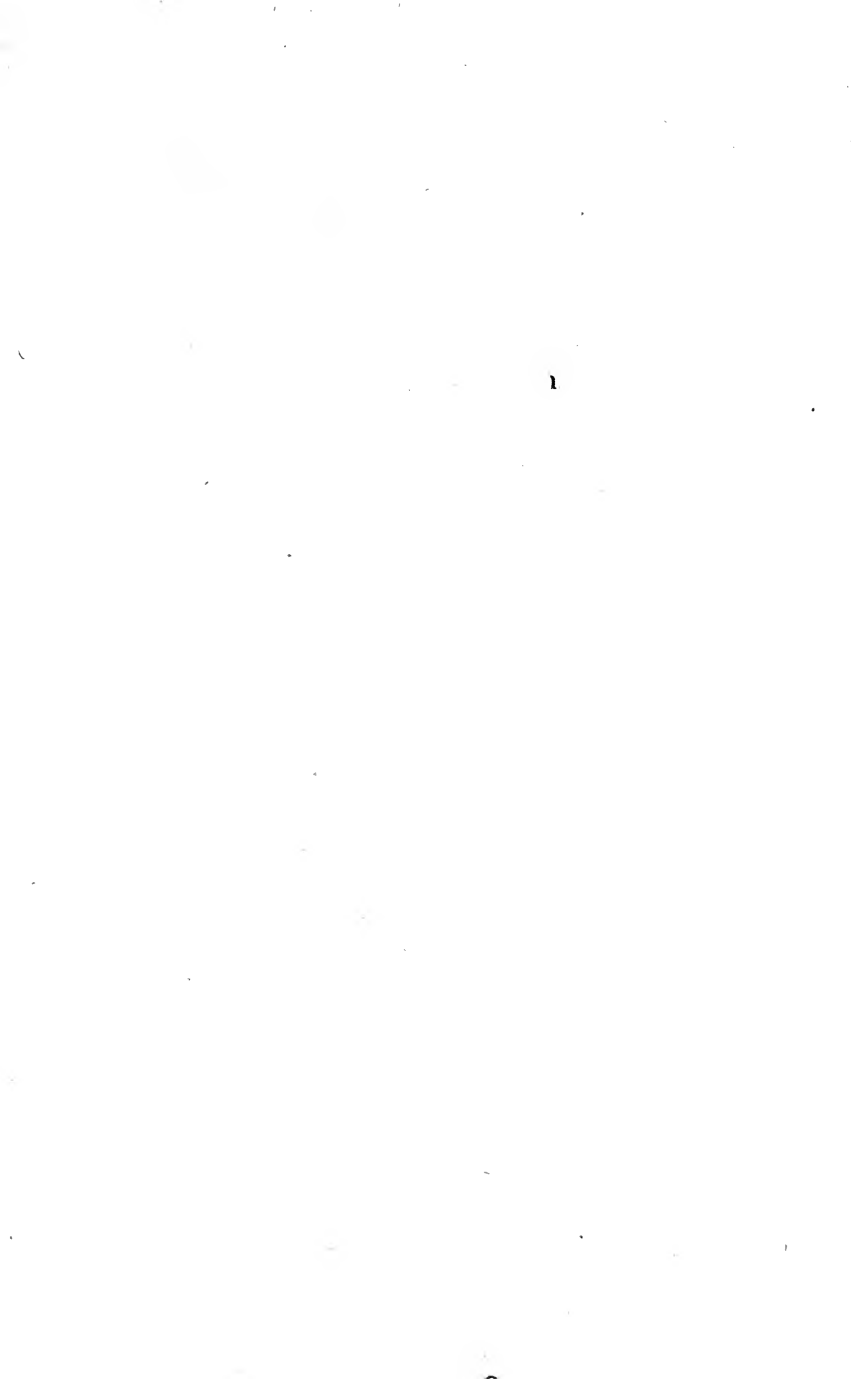
of his friends, will ye not repair to the melancholy monument! All ye, who have enjoyed any share of his confidence, surround this tomb! mingle prayer with your tears, and while you pay homage to the generous friendship and social virtues of so great a prince, let your memory cherish a hero whose benevolence equalled his valor! May his image ever live in your hearts! may you emulate his virtues! and may his death, which you deplore, at once afford you consolation, and serve as an example! On my own part, if I may be allowed after you to offer my last homage at this tomb, you will live, oh Great Prince, whom we so justly lament, eternally in my remembrance; Your image will be traced, not with that ardor which promised victory; no, I will not look on that which death can efface; you will be painted in immortal colors! I shall behold you as you were on that last day, while under the hand of God, when his glory seemed to communicate itself to you! There I shall see you more victorious than at Fribourg and Rocroi, and, delighted with so glorious a triumph, shall repeat in the words of the well-beloved disciple of Christ---*Et hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum, fides nostra*, “and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even of our faith.”* Enjoy your victory, oh

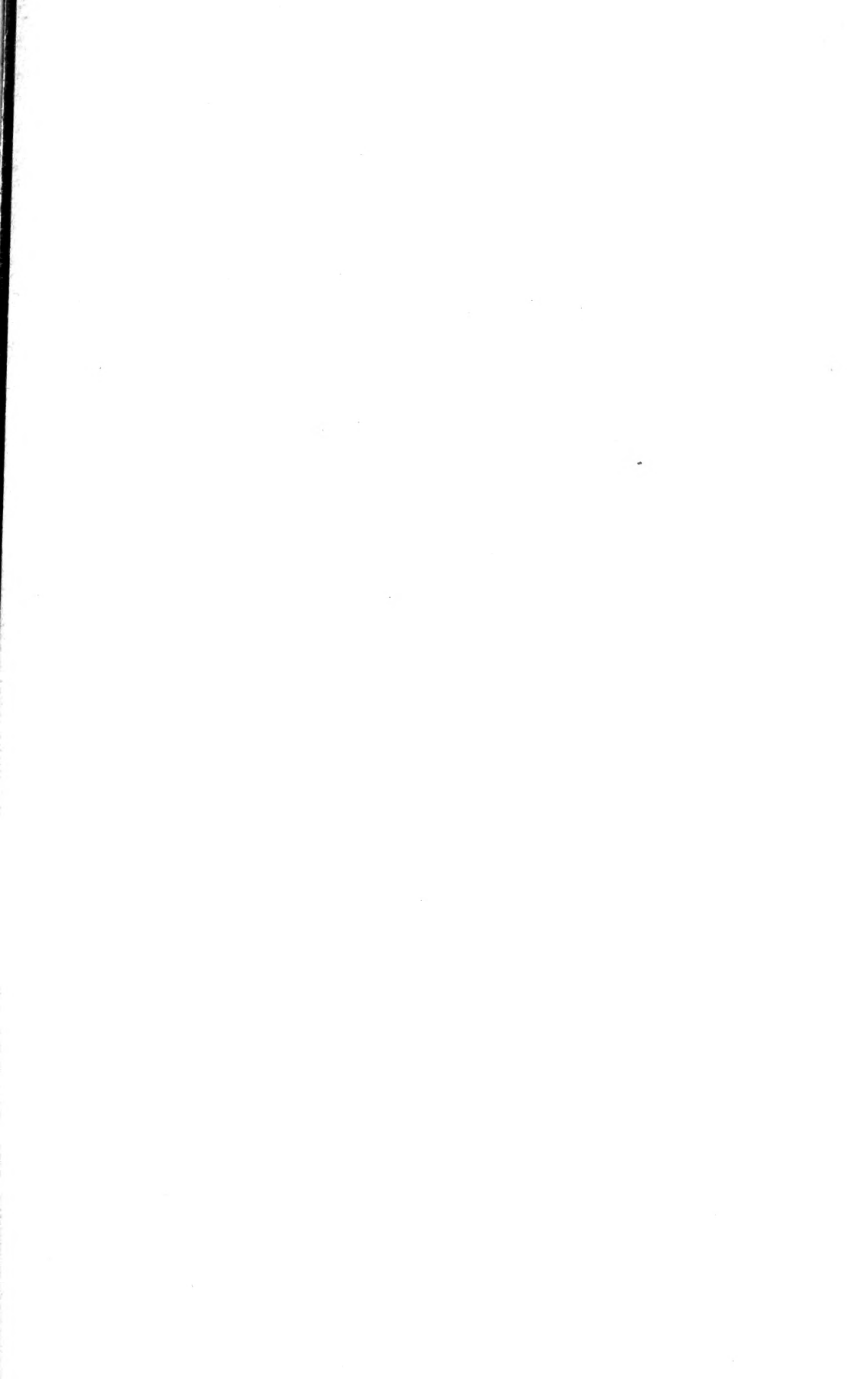
* 1 John v. 4.

Prince! Eternally enjoy it by the immortal virtue of this sacrifice! Accept the last efforts of a voice which was familiar to you! Instead of deploring the death of others, Great Prince, in future I will learn from you how to die like a Christian! happy if, warned by these silver locks of the account I must give of my administration, I can reserve to the flock whom I am appointed to lead in the paths of holiness, the remnant of a voice which decays, and an ardor that is expiring!

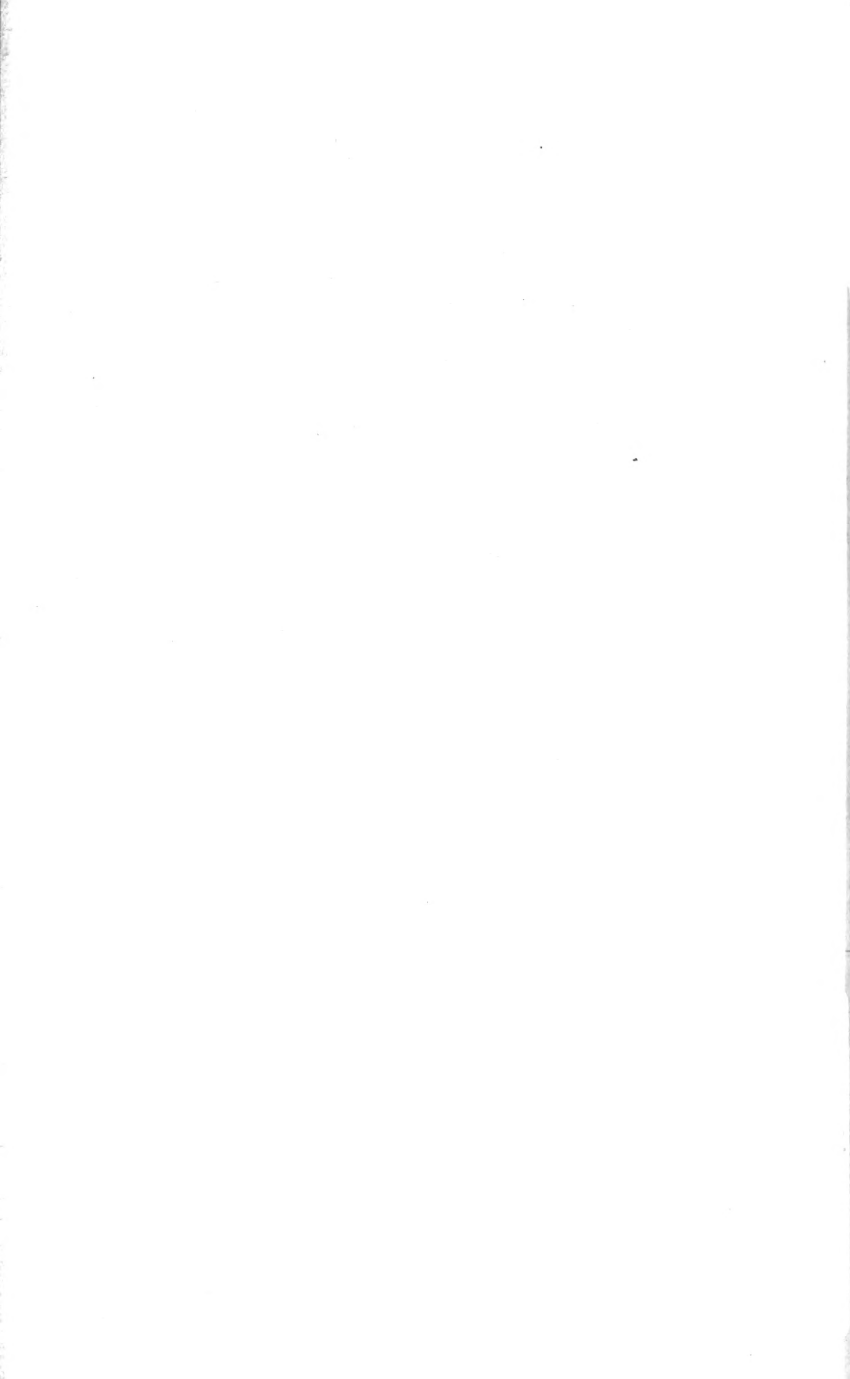
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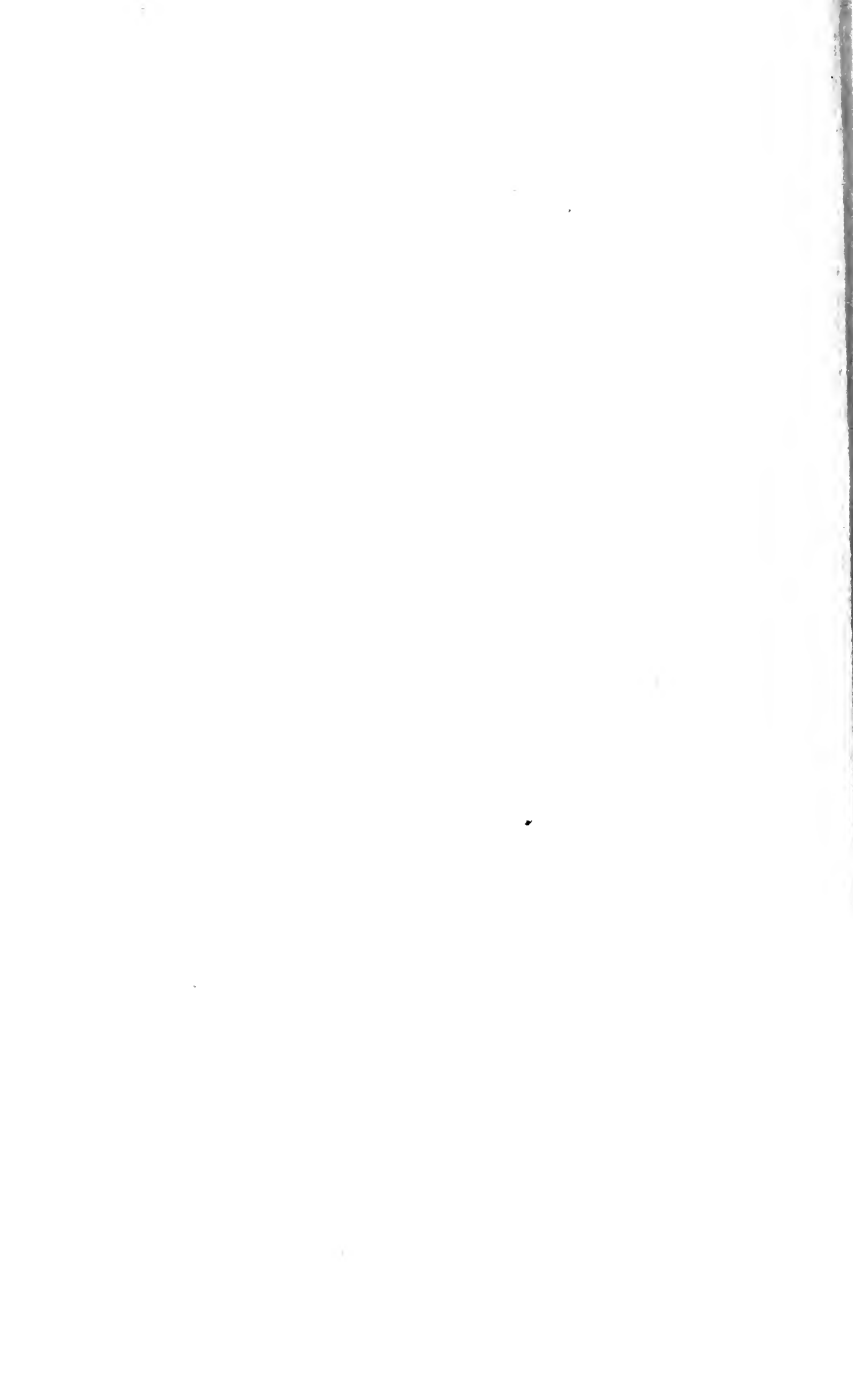
1. The first of the most important
 results of the theory of the
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